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THE
L I F E
OF
NAPOLEON BUONAPARTE;

CONTAINING
EVERY AUTHENTIC PARTICULAR

By which his extraordinary Character has been formed;

WITH A CONCISE
HISTORY OF THE EVENTS

THAT HAVE OCCASIONED
HIS UNPARALLELED ELEVATION,

AND A
PHILOSOPHICAL REVIEW
OF HIS MANNERS AND POLICY AS
A Soldier, a Statesman, and a Sovereign.

INCLUDING
Memoirs and Original Anecdotes

OF
THE IMPERIAL FAMILY,
AND THE
MOST CELEBRATED CHARACTERS THAT HAVE
APPEARED IN FRANCE
DURING THE REVOLUTION.

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BY WILLEM LODEWYK VAN-ESS.

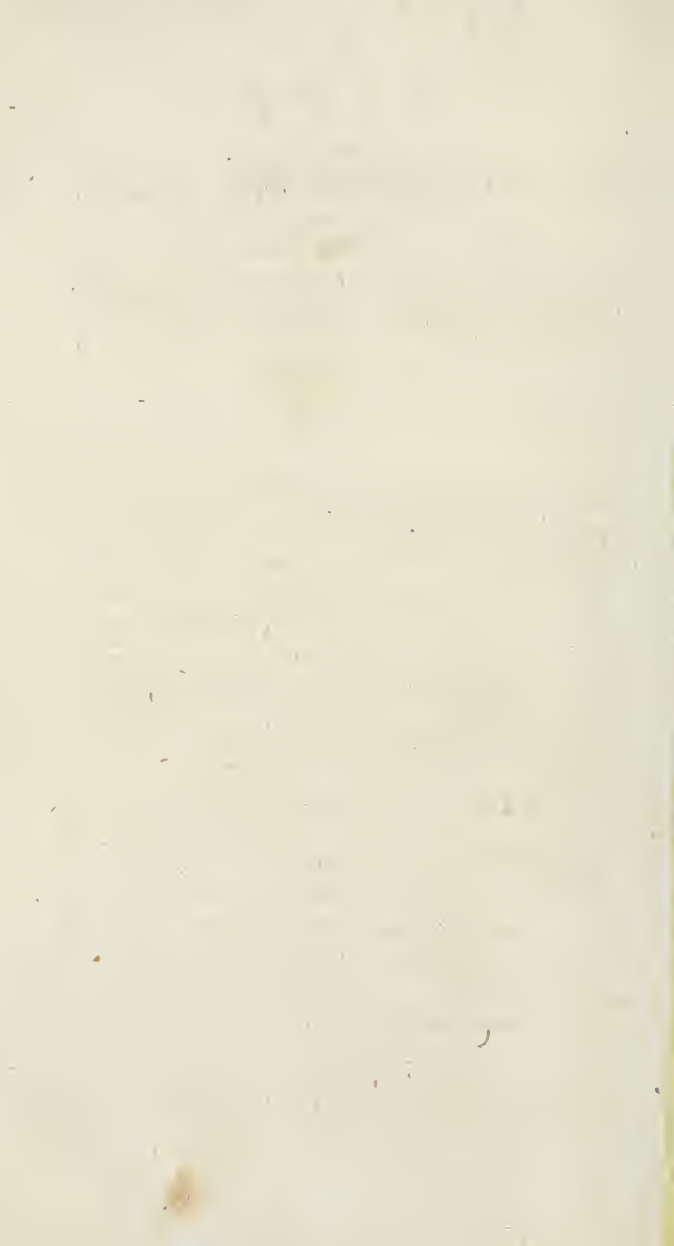
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L I F E

OF

NAPOLEON BUONAPARTE.

CHAPTER I.

Reflections on Nelson's Victory of the Nile.—Admiral Ganteaume's abstracted Detail of that Engagement.—Tallien carries the News of the Battle to Buonaparté.—Buonaparté's Disposition of the Army.—Partial Engagements with the Arabs and Mamelukes.—He receives the News of the Destruction of the French Fleet.—His memorable Dispatch to the Directory on that Event.—His Letter to Madame Brueys on the Death of her Husband.—He visits the Pyramids.—His singular Conversation, in one of the Vaults, with the Chief Muftis.

ADMIRAL Ganteaume's dispatch to the Directory, communicating the intelligence of the battle at Aboukir, is most truly descriptive of the general feelings of the officers of the French fleet upon that event; and, notwithstanding the regret which is expressed, of the French Admiral's having chosen the position wherein he awaited the reception of the English fleet, yet it was, probably, the best situation that he could have selected for the security of his own: it was neither excellence of position, inequality of force, or superiority of arrangement, that could

have deterred the English commander from engaging the enemy. Nelson considered that his duty was to find out the French fleet, and to *beat* it: it was not an engagement with a probability of success that he calculated upon; he had promised to himself a *victory*, and he, therefore, did not reckon on the chance of a defeat.—To him the glory would have been the same, whether he had destroyed the French fleet or perished in an unsuccessful action. Like Buonaparté, the grandeur of his object was his incitement to its attainment; and, like him when he had determined, he employed all the means he could exert to effect it:—Like Buonaparté, his means were arranged and combined with precision, and directed by his own energy and intrepidity. The quick discrimination of his judgment, his prompt decision, and the exalted daring of his mind; every faculty of attention and of noble purpose; every suggestion of his soul, and every pulsation of his heart; all that his gallant spirit could conceive, command, or operate, and all that courage and valour could prompt; all and everything of the man and of his powers, were actively and individually directed to the execution of his design. This was the man who led the English fleet against the unfortunate Brueys; and, had he failed in his attack, it would not have been because he had merely endeavoured to drive the French fleet from the shores of Egypt, but because he purposed its entire destruction, and, therefore, projected such a bold manœuvre, as ordinary skill and bravery could not have devised, and would not have tried. His intrepidity was crowned by success: he snatched new and unfading laurels, where scarcely any other penetration could have discerned them, whence scarcely

any other hand would have been stretched forth to reach them. What in other naval commanders would have been rashness to attempt, he achieved; and thus secured a most important victory for his country, and enrolled his own fame on the records of immortality.

The Abstract of the battle, which accompanied the dispatches of Admiral Ganteaume, forms another important document of this memorable naval victory.

Abstract of the Engagement which took place on the Night of the 1st of August, between the French Fleet, and that of Great Britain, under the command of Rear Admiral NELSON.

Alexandria, August 5, 1798.

At two in the afternoon, the *Heureux* threw out a signal of 12 sail in the W.N.W. Our men on the look-out discovered them at the same time, and counted successively as many as sixteen. We were not long in recognising these vessels to be an English Squadron, composed of fourteen sail of the line, and two brigs.

The two brigs, the *Alceste* and the *Railleux*, were immediately ordered to make sail to windward, to prevent the enemy's light vessel from continuing her soundings.

The signals for stowing the hammocks, and making ready for fight; for announcing the resolution of engaging at anchor; and for recalling the men on board their respective ships, were all made at three.

The longboats, employed in watering, were also recalled: a boat was hastily dispatched from the *Artémise* to the shoals of Rosetta, to acquaint the transports there with the appearance of the enemy: and, finally, the frigates and corvettes were ordered to send as many of their men as possible on board the ships of the line.

The enemy's Squadron continued to advance with a press of sail; after standing off to a considerable distance, to avoid

the breakers on the island, it hauled its wind, shortened sail, and clearly manifested a design to attack us.

At three quarters after five, the battery on the little island threw some bombs, which fell into the van of the enemy's line; at six, the Admiral threw out the signal for commencing the engagement, and shortly after, the two headmost ships began firing.

Several of the enemy's vessels having suddenly shortened sail, had turned the head of our line, and, letting go their anchors, with a cable astern, had ranged alongside, between us and the land; while others had moored themselves within pistol-shot of us, on the other side! By this manœuvre, all our vessels, as far down as the Tonnant, found themselves completely enveloped, and placed between two fires.

It appeared to us that in executing this manœuvre, two of their vessels had run aground: one of them, however, was immediately got off.

The attack and the defence were extremely brisk. The whole of our van was attacked on both sides, and sometimes raked: in this disorder, and involved as we were in continual clouds of smoke, it was extremely difficult to distinguish the different movements of the line.

At the beginning of the action, the Admiral, all the superior officers, the first commissary, and about twenty pilots, and masters of transports, were on the poop of the ship*, employed in serving the musquetry. All the soldiers, and sailors, were ordered to the guns on the main and lower decks: the twelve pounders were not half-manned.

After the action had lasted about an hour the Admiral was wounded in the body, and, in the hand; he then came down from the poop, and, a short time after, was killed on the quarter-deck,

Obliged to defend ourselves on both sides, we gave up

* The l'Orient.

the twelve pounders ; but the twenty-fours, and thirty-sixes kept up their fire with all possible ardour. The Franklin and the Tonnant appeared to be in as critical a situation as ourselves.

The English having utterly destroyed our van, suffered their ships to drift forward, still ranging along our line, and taking their different stations around us : while we were frequently obliged to veer away our cable or our hawser, to enable us to present our broadside to the enemy.

One of their ships, however, which lay close to us on the starboard side totally dismasted, ceased her fire, and cut her cable, to get out of the reach of our guns : but obliged to defend ourselves against two others, who were furiously thundering upon us, on the larboard quarter, and on the starboard bow, we were again compelled to heave in some of our cable.

The thirty-six and twenty-four pounders were still firing briskly, when an explosion took place on the aft of the quarter-deck. We had already had a boat on fire ; but we had cut it away, and so avoided the danger : we had also thrown a hammock, and some other things, which were in flames, overboard ; but this third time the fire spread so rapidly and instantaneously amongst the fragments of every kind, with which the poop was encumbered, that all was soon in flames. The fire pumps had been dashed to pieces by the enemy's balls, and the tubs and buckets rendered useless.

An order was given to cease firing, that all hands might be at liberty to bring water ; but such was the ardour of the moment, that in the tumult the guns of the main deck still continued their fire. Although the officers had called all the people between decks aloft, the flames had, in a very short time, made a most alarming progress, and we had but few means in our power of checking them.

Our main and mizen-masts were both carried away ;

and we soon saw that there was no saving the ship; the fire having already gained the poop, and even the battery on the quarter-deck.

The Captain and second Captain had been wounded some time before. General Ganteaume, therefore, took upon himself the command, and ordered the scuttles to be opened, and everybody to quit the ship.

The fire broke out about a quarter before ten, and at half-after ten the ship blew up, although we had taken the precaution to open all the water-courses. Some of the crew saved themselves on the wreck; the rest perished.

The action continued all the night with the ships in the rear, and, at break of day, we discovered that the *Guerrier*, the *Conquérant*, the *Spartiate*, the *Aquillon*, the *Peuple*, *Souverain*, and the *Franklin* had hauled down their colours, and were in the possession of the enemy. The *Timoleon*, with all her masts gone, was dropt astern of the fleet, her colours still flying. The *Heureux* and the *Mercure*, which had run aground were attacked, and obliged to strike in the morning. The *Artémise* was set on fire at eight o'clock, and the *Sérieuse* sunk.

The *Guillaume Tell*, the *Genereux*, the *Timoleon*, the *Diana*, and the *Justice*, with their colours still flying, were engaged with some English vessels during a part of the morning, but this division, with the exception of the *Timoleon*, set their sails, about eleven o'clock, and stood off to sea.

The *Timoleon* ran ashore; and we have since heard, that the Captain, after landing all his men, set her on fire the next morning, to prevent her falling into the hands of the enemy.

Such are the results of this horrible affair; and we have detailed them as they presented themselves to our memory; not having been able to preserve a paper or note of any kind.

Rear Admiral GANTEAUME.

At the time of this engagement, TALLIEN, of whom we have formerly written, was at Rosetta, and, in a letter to Barras the Director, he says "Consternation has overwhelmed us all. I set out to-morrow for Cairo, to carry the news to Buonaparté : It will shock him so much the more, as he had not the least idea of its happening : he will, doubtless, find resources in himself, if not to repair a loss of such magnitude, at least to prevent the disaster becoming fatal to the army which he commands."

The effects of this maritime disaster were, in some degree, soothed by the rapid successes that attended the military forces under the command of Buonaparté. At the time the French entered Cairo, the Mamelukes were divided into two armies ; the one commanded by Murad Bey, which took the route of Upper Egypt ; the other, under the command of Ibrahim Bey, proceeded towards Syria. The whole power of the Egyptian government had been divided between these Beys ; Murad Bey was at the head of the military department, while Ibrahim, presided in the administration of civil affairs.

Defaix, who was charged to observe Murad, and to hold him in check ; formed an entrenched camp, four leagues beyond Giza, on the left bank of the Nile : his advanced posts and those of Murad Bey were very near each other. Ibrahim Bey retired to Belbeis, where he waited for the return of the caravan from Mecca, in order to be reinforced by the corps of Mamelukes that escorted it, with a view to execute an extensive plan of hostile operations, in conjunction with Murad Bey and the Arabs. From this arrangement, it is evident, that, whatever credit may be due to the charges brought by the French

against the Beys for mis-rule, they were not destitute of talents. Ibrahim made every exertion in his power to induce the Fellahs of the Delta, to take arms, and to incite the inhabitants of Cairo to revolt; Buonaparté, therefore, felt the necessity of organising a provisional government, as well as of regulating every branch of the public service; he also wished, by placing his forces in entrenched positions, to secure the French from all surprise, either on the part of the Mamelukes or the inhabitants.

In the mean time, as the neighbourhood of Ibrahim Bey was highly dangerous, the General of Brigade, Le Clerc, was dispatched from Cairo, on the 2d of August, with 300 cavalry, three companies of grenadiers, and a battalion, with two pieces of light artillery, and ordered to take a position at Elhanka, and to observe his motions. On the following day, the General was attacked by a body of 4,000 Mamelukes and Arabs, which a few discharges of artillery soon compelled to retire. Buonaparté now considered Ibrahim of so much consequence that he marched against him in person, but could not overtake him till he had been joined by the Caravan, and increased his army from the Mamelukes, its escort. At Salehieh the French came up with the army of the Bey, but could not prevent him reaching the Desert with all his baggage and forces. Buonaparté now took measures for the fortification of Salehieh and Belbeis. The division of General Dugua, was ordered to proceed to Damietta, to take possession of it, and to subdue the Delta. General Regnier's division was posted at Salehieh, in order to secure the submission of the province of Cherkie, and Buonaparté took with him the rest of the troops to

Cairo: it was on his return from this expedition that he received intelligence, and also the details of the naval action of Aboukir. What his private feelings were upon that event, has not yet transpired; but he managed very adroitly to collect the scattered hopes of his followers, by the turn which he gave to it in public, and which his dispatch to the Directory will best serve to elucidate.

BONAPARTE, *Member of the National Institute, General in Chief, to the Executive Directory.*

Head Quarters, Cairo, August 19.

“CITIZEN DIRECTORS!

“On the 6th of July I wrote to the Admiral, to enter the port of Alexandria in twenty-four hours; and, if that was not practicable, to land immediately all the artillery and stores belonging to the army, and return to Corfu. I then left Alexandria, in the full assurance that in three days one of these measures would have been adopted. From that time, to the 24th of July, I received no intelligence whatever, either from Rosetta or Alexandria: a multitude of Arabs, collecting from all parts of the Desert, kept constantly within 500 toises of the camp.

“On the 27th, at length, the report of our victories, and different positions, opened our communications. I received several letters from the Admiral, when I learned, with astonishment, that he remained at Aboukir. I then wrote to him again, that he must not lose an hour, but either enter the port of Alexandria, or return to Corfu. The Admiral had written to me on the 20th of July, that several English frigates had come to reconnoitre, and that he was fortifying himself in expectation of the enemy at Aboukir. This strange resolution filled me with the most lively alarms, but the time was lost; for the letter of the 20th did not reach me until the 30th of the same month. I dispatched Citizen Julien, my Aid-du-Camp, with or-

ders not to leave Aboukir until he had seen the squadron under sail. On the 26th the Admiral wrote to me that the squadron had retired, which measure he attributed to want of provisions. I received this letter on the 30th, by the same courier: the 29th he wrote to me that he had, at length, heard of the victory of the Pyramids, and the taking of Cairo, and found a passage for entering the port of Alexandria; that letter I received the 1st of August. On the night of the 1st of August the English attacked him: on the moment he perceived the English squadron, he dispatched an officer to apprise me of his dispositions and plans; this officer perished on the road. It seemed to me, that Admiral Bruyes was unwilling to return to Corfu before he had ascertained the practicability of entering the port of Alexandria, and that the army, of which he had received no intelligence for a long time, was in a position, in which it would not be obliged to retreat: if, in this calamitous event, he was to blame, he has expiated his faults by a glorious death.

“The Destinies have been desirous to prove, on this occasion, as on so many others, that if they grant us a great preponderance on the continent, they have given the empire of the seas to our rivals; but, however great this reverse, it is not to be attributed to the fickleness of Fortune. She has not abandoned us: far from it; she has favoured us in the whole expedition, in a degree surpassing all her former efforts. When I arrived before Alexandria, and learned that the English had been there a few days before, notwithstanding the tempestuousness of the weather, I threw myself on the shore, at the risk of being wrecked. I remember at the moment when preparations were making for landing, there was a signal in the offing of an enemy's sail. (It was the Justice coming from Malta). I exclaimed, “Fortune, would you abandon me? Only five days!” I marched all night: at break of day I attacked Alexandria with 3,000 harassed men, without cannon, and nearly without cartridges; and, in five, days I became master of

Rosetta, of Demenhour, that is to say, I was already established in Egypt.

“ For these five days was the squadron sheltered from the enemy, however great might be their number? Far from it: it remained exposed during the remainder of the month of July: it received from Rosetta, about the 20th of that month, a supply of rice for two months. The English were for ten days in these parts. On the 29th of July it received intelligence of our entire possession of Egypt, and our entry into Cairo; and it was only after Fortune saw that all her favours were become of no further use that she abandoned our fleet to its destiny.

I salute you.

(Signed) BONAPARTE.

The illiberal policy of imputing this blame to the gallant Brueys, after his death, appears as unjust as it was ungenerous, if the statement of the Admiral be true, that he detained the fleet “ to gratify the wishes of the Commander in Chief.” It was, perhaps, to atone for this paltry evasion, that Buonaparté was induced to write a letter of kindness and condolence to Madam Brueys.

“ Your husband,” said he, “ was killed by a cannon ball in fighting nobly for his country: he died without suffering for a moment, and his death is envied by all good soldiers. I feel sincerely what you must suffer. The moment which separates us from the person whom we love is terrible; it insulates us from everything around us, and causes convulsions of agony: the faculties of the soul are almost annihilated, and we hardly preserve any connection with the world but in a dream. Men appear to us more cold, more selfish, more wicked, and more odious than they really are. We think in this situation, that if there was nothing which compelled us to live, it were better for us to die; but, after these first emotions, when we

press our infants to our breast, tears and sentiments of tenderness awaken nature within us, and we live again for our children. Yes, madam, let me advise you to see them instantly; let them soften your heart to the tender impressions of melancholy; you will weep over them, you will watch over their infancy and cultivate their youth; you will speak to them of their father, of your own sufferings, and of the loss which they and their country have sustained. After having thus re-attached yourself to the world by filial and maternal love, endeavour to set some value upon the lively interest which I shall never fail to take in all that concerns the widow of my friend: Be satisfied that there are at least some men in the world, how few so ever they may be, who deserve to be considered as the only hope of the wretched, because they feel for their sufferings with sensibility.

2d Fruelidor, 6th Year.

BONAPARTE."

Whatever might be the design of the General in undertaking the expedition to Egypt, its real tendency was to lead to a new opinion of his own character: he had hitherto been regarded as an able warrior, and the vices of the conqueror had been obscured by the valour of the soldier; but he seemed now to have entangled himself in a snare, from which he could only escape by practising all the arts of a cunning knave. The reflections he had cast upon Brueys placed him in this light to the people of Europe, and his conduct in Egypt made much the same impression upon his army there. A very curious specimen of his ability to conceal his views in a multitude of words is to be seen, in a conversation which he entered into with Three of the Mustis in the Pyramids, and, which, though it displayed his ingenuity, served to elevate him as an object of fear rather than of affection.

Accompanied by his Staff, and the Members of the National Institute, attended also by a powerful guard, and conducted by several Muftis and Imans, the General proceeded to the Pyramids, where, after hastily surveying the five inferior ones, his attention was principally directed to that called "Cheops."

After examining the different apartments, he seated himself in a flattened vault, on a chest of granite, eight feet long and four feet deep, amongst his attendants, and invited the Muftis, Imans, &c. to be also seated, when he commenced a conversation with Sulaman, Ibrahim, and Muhamed, the chief Muftis.

BUONAPARTE. God is great, and his works are marvellous; but we have here a grand production of the hand of man. What was the object of the individual who caused this pyramid to be constructed?

SULUMAN. He was a powerful King of Egypt, whose name, it is said, was Cheops: he wished to prevent the sacrilegious from troubling the repose of his ashes.

BUONAPARTE. The great Cyrus commanded, that, when dead, his body should be left in the open air, that it might return to the elements. Dost thou not think that he did better? Tell me, my friend, what is your opinion?

SULUMAN. (*inclining himself*) Glory to God! to whom all glory is due.

BUONAPARTE. Honour to Allah! Who was the Calif who caused this Pyramid to be opened, and troubled the ashes of the dead?

MUHAMED. It is believed by some that it was Mahmoed, the commander of the Faithful, who reigned several centuries at Bagdad; others say,

it was the renowned Aaron Raschild, (peace to his manes!) who expected to find treasures there; but when, by his command, entrance was made into this apartment, tradition says, that he found mummies only, and this Inscription written on the wall:—
The impious shall commit iniquity without recompense, but not without remorse.

BUONAPARTE. The bread stolen by the wicked fills his mouth with sand.

MUHAMED (*inclining himself*) These are the words of wisdom.

BUONAPARTE. Glory to Allah! there is no other God but God, Mahomet is his prophet, and I am his friend.

SULUMAN. The salutation of peace to the Envoy of God! Salutation to thee also, invincible Warrior, favourite of Mahomet!

BUONAPARTE. Mufti, I thank thee: the divine Koran is the delight of my soul, and the object of my contemplation. I love the Prophet, and I hope ere long, to see and honour his tomb in the Holy City; but my mission is first to exterminate the Mamelukes.

IBRAHIM. May the angels of victory sweep the dust from thy path, and cover thee with their wings! the Mameluke has merited death.

BUONAPARTE. He has been smote and delivered over to the black angels, Moukir and Quakir. God, on whom all things depend, has ordained that his dominions shall be destroyed.

SULUMAN. He has extended the hand of rapine over the land, the harvests, and the herds, of Egypt.

BUONAPARTE. And over the *most beautiful* slaves, thrice, holy Mufti! Allah has withered his hand:

if Egypt is his portion, let him shew the lease which God has given him of it; but God is just and merciful to his people.

IBRAHIM. O most valiant among the children of Issa! (Jesus Christ) Allah has caused thee to follow the exterminating angel to deliver his land of Egypt.

BUONAPARTE. This land was a prey to twenty-four oppressors, (rebels against the grand Sultan, our ally, whom God turn to his glory) and to ten thousand slaves, from Canada and Georgia. Adriel, the Angel of Death, has breathed upon them: we are come, and they have disappeared!

MUHAMED. Noble successor of Isander! (Alexander) honour to thy invincible arms, and to the unexpected thunder which springs from thy warriors on horse.

BUONAPARTE. Dost thou believe thunder to be the work of the children of men? Dost thou believe so? Allah has placed it in my hands, by his messenger, the Genius of War.

IBRAHIM. We perceive in thy works the great Allah; who has sent thee: couldst thou have conquered, if Allah had not permitted? The Delta, and all the neighbouring countries, resound with thy miracles.

BUONAPARTE. A celestial car will ascend, by my command, to the abode of the clouds, and the lightning will descend to the earth, along a metallic wire*, the moment I shall bid it.

SULUMAN. And the great Serpent, which sprang

* This sublime quackery means nothing more, in intelligent language, than an air balloon, and an electric conductor!

from the base of the Pillar of Pompey, on the day of thy triumphant entry in Scanderish, and which remained withered at the socket of the pillar, was that not also a prodigy effected by thy hand?

BUONAPARTE. Lights of the age! you are destined to see yet greater wonders than these; for the days of regeneration are come.

IBRAHIM. May the divine Unity regard thee with the eye of predeliction, adorer of *Issa*! and render thee the support of the children of the Prophet.

BUONAPARTE. Has not Mahomet said, that every man who adores God, and performs good works, whatever may be his religion, shall be saved?

SULUMAN, MUHAMED, IBRAHIM (*reclining themselves*) He has said so.

BUONAPARTE. And, if, by an order from on high, I have moderated the pride of the Vicar of *Issa* (the Pope) by diminishing his terrestrial possessions, in order to amass for him celestial treasures, was it rendering glory to God, whose mercy is infinite?

MUHAMED. (*with an air of hesitation*) The Musti of Rome was rich and powerful, we are poor Mustis.

BUONAPARTE. I know that you are poor; be without apprehension, for you have been weighed in the balance of Balthazar, and, you have been found light. Does this Pyramid, then, really contain no treasure that you know of?

SULUMAN. (*his hands on his breast*) None, my Lord! we swear by the holy city of Mecca.

BUONAPARTE. Unhappy, thrice unhappy! those who seek for perishable riches, and covet gold and silver, which are like unto dust!

SULUMAN. Thou hast spared the Vicar of *Issa*, and hast treated him with clemency and goodness.

BUONAPARTE. He is an old man whom I honour. May God accomplish, when they shall be regulated by reason and truth: but he is to blame in condemning to eternal fire all the Mussulmen. Allah defend us from intolerance!

IBRAHIM. Glory to Allah, and to his Prophet! who has sent thee into the midst of us to rekindle the faith of the weak, and to open to the faithful the gates of the seventh heaven.

BUONAPARTE. You have spoken my wishes, most zealous Mustis! be faithful to Allah, the sovereign Ruler of the seven marvellous heavens, and to Mahomet, his Vizir, who traversed all the celestial mansions in a single night. Be the friends of the Franks, and Allah, Mahomet, and the Franks, will recompense you.

IBRAHIM. May the Prophet himself cause thee to sit at his left-hand, on the day of the resurrection, after the third sound of the trumpet.

BUONAPARTE. "He that hath ears to hear let him hear!" The hour of political resurrection has arrived for all who groan under oppression. Mustis, Imans, Mullahs, Dervises, and Kalenders! instruct the people of Egypt, encourage them to join in our labours, to complete the destruction of the Beys and the Mamelukes: favour the commerce of the Franks in your country, and their endeavours to arrive at the ancient Land of Brama. Let them have storehouses in your ports, and drive far from you the Islanders of Albion, accursed among the children of Issa! such is the will of Mahomet. The treasures, industry, and friendship of the Franks shall be your lot, till you ascend to the seventh heaven, and are seated by the side of the black-eyed houris, who are endowed with

perpetual youth and virginity. Repose under the shade of Laba, whose branches present of themselves to true Mussulmen whatever their hearts may desire.

SULUMAN. (*inclining himself*) Thou hast spoken like the most learned of the Mullahs. We place faith in thy words: we will serve thy cause, and God *hears us*.

BUONAPARTE. God is great, and his works are marvellous: the salutation of peace be upon you, THRICE HOLY MUFTIS! .

The Reader will hardly discover anything in this bombastic chit-chat, but a contest between cunning and craft; yet it is pretty evident that the design of the General was to out-wit the priests, but he failed in the attempt.



CHAPTER II.

Desaix pursues the Mamelukes under Murad Bey, and has different Engagements with them.—Battle of Sidi-man.—Anecdote of a dying French Soldier.—His Army being afflicted with Ophthalmia, he collects the Mimi, and returns to Cairo.—Buonaparté requires Dgezzar Pacha to dismiss the Mamelukes from Acre, which he refuses, and puts the French in Irons.—Buonaparté arranges a Plan of Taxation; establishes a Commercial Company, an Institute, and various Manufactories.—Employment of the Savans.—Massacre at Cairo, and Death of the Cheriff Coraime.—Buonaparté arrives at Suez, and visits Mount Horeb, in search of the ancient Canal.—He returns to Cairo to prepare for the Expedition to Syria.

BUONAPARTE having established his head quarters at Cairo, Desaix was ordered to pursue Murat Bey, and complete the conquest of Upper Egypt, where Murad had taken refuge after the battle of the Pyramids. On the 25th of August he struck his camp before Cairo, and set out, together with a flotilla, which was to convoy his march.

Being informed that some barks, with provisions and ammunition for the Mamelukes, were at Resnuaseh, Desaix, notwithstanding the inundation, marched to surprise them; and, after crossing eight canals, and the lake Baten, where the water was up to their armpits, came up with the convoy at Benaseh, drove away the Mamelukes, who were to defend it, and made it a prize. Desaix rejoined his division at Abu-jairjeh, marched to Tarutel-shereef, where he

took his position at the Canal of Joseph, to ensure a communication with Cairo. Arrived at Siut, whence the Mamelukes had fled, he endeavoured to overtake them at Beneady, whither they had retired, with their women and baggage: but they having finally joined Murad Bey in Faium, Defaix returned to Siut, in order to redescend to Tarut-el-shereef, where he embarked his troops on the Canal of Joseph. Arrived off Mansura, on the borders of the Desert, he, at length, met Murad Bey, who kept up such a well-directed fire upon the French on their landing that Defaix ordered them to return on board, intending to fall down to Minkia. The Mamelukes, encouraged by this counter-march, having harrassed the barks, some companies of grenadiers chased and dispersed them: the debarkation being effected the troops formed into square battalions, and resumed the road to the Desert, accompanied by the barks as far as Manura; Murad Bey was at four miles distance; while his rear guard harrassed the French he gained the heights, where they saw his army open with all the magnificence of the east. With telescopes they discovered his person, blazing with gold and gems; he was surrounded by all the Beys and Kiaschefs under his command. The French marched directly forward; and the splendid cavalry they had to oppose, cannonaded by the only two pieces which could follow it, stopped, turned, and fled to Elalamon. In following the French left their barks; they wanted food, and were obliged to return for biscuit: Murad thought they had fled; he attacked them with the most determined bravery, and actually carried away two prisoners from the very points of the bayonets, and night alone delivered the French.

from their valour. On regaining the barks the French loaded with biscuit, and, after taking a little repose, recommenced their march.

During this time Murad Bey had got a stranger to arrive in his army, with news that the English had destroyed such of the French as were at Alexandria; that the inhabitants of Cairo had massacred those who occupied that city; and that there remained in Egypt only the handful of soldiers whom they had put to flight the evening before, and whom they should presently annihilate: a festival was therefore given, and a sham battle, in which the French were represented by Arabs, who had orders to suffer themselves to be beaten. The feast concluded with the murder of the two prisoners who had been taken two days before.

Desaix having learned that Murad was at Sediman, preparing to give battle to the French, resolved to commence the attack as soon as he had left the open and cultivated country. The night the Mamelukes passed in carousals within their camp. At day-break they formed a hollow square, flanked by two lesser bodies: soon after, the French saw Murad at the head of his Mamelukes, and eight or ten thousand Arabs. A valley lay between the two armies, which must be passed before the French could attack. Scarcely did Murad see them in this disadvantageous position before he surrounded them on all sides, charging them with a bravery approaching to fury. The closeness of the French body rendered the number of his men of no advantage to him: their musketry did much execution, and repulsed him for the time. The Mamelukes stopped, wheeled, as if to fly, and suddenly fell on one of the squadrons,

which they completely levelled with the ground; all who were not killed, by a spontaneous movement, fell down: this movement uncovered the Mamelukes to the center of the French, who made use of the instant to give a heavy fire: Murad stopped and wheeled once more; such of the squadron as were not killed came into the ranks. The French were again attacked by the whole body, now no longer with the cries of victory, but rage; valour was equally manifested on both sides; the barrels of the French muskets were hacked by the sabres of the Mamelukes: their horses were precipitated on their ranks; the animals fell back at the sight of the bayonets; their riders turned them, hoping to force the ranks by their kicks: the French, who knew their safety depended upon their union, pressed together without disorder, and attacked without engaging; carnage was everywhere, but there was no battle: the unsuccessful attempts of the Mamelukes had driven them wild with fury; they threw their arms, which could not otherwise have reached the French; and, as if this battle were to have been the last, the troops were assailed with firelocks, pistols, battle-axes, and showers of sabres. Those who were dismounted crept under the bayonets, endeavouring to cut the soldiers legs; the dying collected their strength and still struggled with the dying, and their blood, which mingled while it drank the dust, did not appease their animosity. One of the French fallen had closed with an expiring Mameluke, whom he held by the throat: "How," said an officer, "in your situation, can you be guilty of anything so shocking?"—"You," replied he, "talk very

well at your ease; I have but a moment to live, and I wish to enjoy it."

Murad had suspended his attack; he had committed great slaughter among the French, in falling back he did not fly, and the situation of the French, was not improved: scarcely had he retreated when he opened a battery that had hitherto been concealed, and which at each discharge carried off six or eight soldiers. For a moment the French were lost in consternation and stupor; the number of the wounded increasing every instant. To give the word to march was to bend to the courage of the enemy, and expose themselves to every species of danger; not to do so was to give unnecessary extent to the evil, and expose the whole army to destruction; to march was to abandon the wounded, and to abandon them was to give them up to certain death. Desaix, distracted with the alternative, remained motionless a moment: at length, says a French philosopher, "the general interest commanded him how to act, the voice of necessity drowned that of the unfortunate wounded, and the army began its march." Murad threatened to harass his retreat; the only choice was now between victory and absolute destruction; the extremity of this situation so united the interests of all, that the army, as one individual, determined to force the battery: the light artillery, commanded by the ardent Tournerie, did prodigies; and while they dismounted some of the guns of the Mamelukes the grenadiers came up; the battery was abandoned, the cavalry, panic-struck, fell back, wheeled, fled, disappeared

immediately, and left the French without an enemy to oppose.

Never was there a battle more terrible, a victory more brilliant, or a catastrophe more unexpected. The advantage gained by the battle of Sediman was, that of detaching the Arabs from the Mamelukes; but much was to be added on the score of the impression of the French tactics on the fears of the latter. Murad Bey, no longer hoping to oppose, or even to resist, the French army, reduced them to the occupation of following a light and rapid enemy, who, in his ceaseless precaution, left it neither repose nor security.

In addition to the sufferings to which the army had been exposed, it was now afflicted with ophthalmia, arising out of its long marches and great fatigues, followed by nightly watchings, in a climate where the humidity of the air repels perspiration, so as to produce a flux, that attacked either the eyes or the bowels.

Having now in some degree established his power, Desaix thought himself able to dispute with Murad Bey the miri, "or territorial tax," of the rich province of Benesuef, which having partially accomplished, he returned to Cairo, to provide himself with the means of again taking the field.

At the time the French entered Upper Egypt the villages were so numerous and so contiguous, that, standing in the midst of the plain, M. De Non counted twenty-four by which he was encompassed; they were not disfigured by hills of rubbish, but so planted with spreading trees that they seemed to present the pictures which travellers have given of the habitations in the islands of the Pacific Sea;

abundance and riches were everywhere to be seen.

At Djirjeh, the capital, the French found a supply of provisions, at very low prices; bread one sous the pound, twelve eggs for two sous, two pigeons three sous, a goose, of five pounds weight, twelve sous; and this the result, not of poverty, but of great abundance; for, after a stay of three weeks, when the wants of five thousand persons had increased the consumption and the money in circulation, the price of every thing remained the same. These were the people who were called upon by Buonaparté to believe that he had hazarded all the dangers of his voyage purely for the purpose of increasing their happiness, and to deliver them from oppressors! and posterity will not be surprised that these uncultivated Egyptians could not comprehend the advantages they should gain by paying the mir to the bayonet instead of the sabre. Denon says, that he saw a column of three hundred horsemen ordered out to levy the tax, and a requisition of horses and buffaloes: in this the French followed the custom of the Mamelukes; when he remarked, that, without ever refusing, they made use of various ingenious methods to delay for a few hours the moment of parting with their money. This our wise man treats as a strange want of gratitude—"they regretted their tyrants," he continues, "when they were called upon to repay their liberators!"

After the affair of Salehieh Ibrahim Bey had retired, with about 1,000 Mamelukes and his treasures, to Gaza, where he experienced from Dgezzar, Pacha of Acre, the most favourable reception; the

Pacha not only granted him an asylum, and protected the Mamelukes, but also menaced the frontiers of Egypt; Buonaparté, who yet pretended to be in friendship with the Porte, dispatched an officer by sea with a letter to Dgezzar, assuring him that the French were desirous of preserving the friendship of the Grand Seignior, and living in peace with him; but insisted that Dgezzar should remove Ibrahim Bey, and his Mamelukes, and afford him no further support. To this communication the Pacha made no answer, but, in great anger, commanded the officer to return, and ordered all the French at Acre to be put in irons.

No intelligence had been received from Europe since the action at Aboukir, as the ports of Egypt were closely blocked up by the English. Buonaparté had no official information respecting the issue of the negotiation, which the Directory had agreed to open with the Ottoman Porte, relative to the expedition to Egypt; but all the accounts received overland announced that the English had availed themselves of the victory at Aboukir, to form an alliance between England, Russia, and the Porte, against the Republic. Buonaparté, considering that a combined operation would take place against Egypt on the side of Syria and by sea, had not a moment to lose, and he immediately determined to march into Syria, and afterwards to return to Egypt time enough to oppose the expected invasion by sea, which was not likely to take place till about the end of the following June. Such was the plan of operations which Buonaparté resolved upon, and which, without delay, he proceeded to execute, after organizing a novel system of government for Egypt, and

establishing a new distribution of imposts, on principles more productive to the French treasury. At Cairo he established a commercial company, in order to facilitate the exchange and circulation of all kinds of commodities. An Institute was also founded, to which a library was attached, and a chemical laboratory was constructed. A workshop, on an extensive scale, was opened for all the mechanic arts: the making of bread and of various fermented liquors was soon brought to the necessary degree of perfection; saltpetre was refined, and several hydraulic machines constructed; whilst scientific and literary men proceeded into the interior of Egypt, where they made many interesting observations and important discoveries, with reference to geography, history, and natural philosophy.

General Andreossy was ordered to reduce the country surrounding the Lake Menzale, the Pelusian Mouths, to secure the command of the lake, and to take an actual survey of all these points, as well in a scientific as a military point of view. Accordingly, the General, on the 2d Vendémiaire (23d September) founded the roads of Damietta, of Bougassie, and of those near Bougan, as well as the mouth of the Nile, in order to determine the passes of the Boghaz, and the form of the bar.

General Andreossy, accompanied by Citizen Berthollet, afterwards proceeded to survey the Lakes of Natron, situated in a valley more than two leagues broad; these lakes comprehend an extent of about six leagues. The General went into a large valley, not far from that of Natron, called the river San-seau; (without water) this valley is encumbered with sand

its surface is about three leagues in diameter; there he found numbers of large trees entirely petrified: in the valley of the lakes were found several springs of very good water. The Natron there is of a very good quality, and would form a valuable branch of commerce.

The learned and scientific men who accompanied Buonaparté were employed in pursuits commensurate to their respective knowledge and talents. Nouet and Mechaim determined the latitudes of Alexandria, Cairo, Salehieh, Damietta, and Suez. Lefevre and Malus surveyed the Moez; the former, together with Bouchard, accompanied General Andreossy in his survey of Lake Menzale. Peyre and Girard formed a plan of Alexandria. Lanorey surveyed the Canal of Aboumanege, and directed the works on the Canal of Alexandria; Geoffroy examined the animals of the Lake Menzale, and the various kinds of fish found in the Nile: Delisle investigated the plants peculiar to Lower Egypt; Arnoulet and the younger Champy were dispatched to the Red Sea, to make mineralogical observations in that quarter; Girard was charged with the inspection of the canals in Upper Egypt; Denon was sent to Fayum, and afterwards to Upper Egypt, in order to delineate the monuments of antiquity. Conte superintended the workshop destined for the mechanic arts; he also constructed windmills, and several machines till then unknown in Egypt: Savigny made a collection of insects of Syria and the Desert; Beauchamp and Nouet compiled an almanack, containing five calendars; viz. those of the French Republic, and of the Romish, Greek, Coptic, and Mussulman Churches; Costaz edited a journal: Four-

rier, secretary to the Institute, was appointed French Commissioner at the Divan; the whole corps exerted itself in forming new establishments or making new discoveries.

While the preparations were making for the expedition to Syria Buonaparté assisted the *savans* in their occupations, and regularly attended the sittings of the Institute, where each member gave an account of his proceedings. He determined to visit the Isthmus of Suez in person, and to satisfy all doubts relative to the canal, which he regarded as one of the most important yet obscure problems in history; he had made arrangements for this interesting journey, when a calamitous and unexpected event obliged him to postpone it.

Tranquillity had hitherto been maintained in the city of Cairo; delegates from all the provinces deliberated with calmness on the propositions made by the French Commissioners, Monge and Berthollet, respecting the definitive organization of the Divans. the civil and criminal code, the establishment and distribution of imposts, and on the various objects of administration and general police. Suddenly the French thought they saw symptoms of an approaching insurrection: on the 21st of October, at day-break, numbers of the inhabitants were assembling in different parts of the city, particularly near the great mosque; but whether for any religious ceremony or any peculiar custom the jealousy of the conquerors would not permit them to enquire. General Dupuis, the commandant, advanced, at the head of a small force, in order to disperse them, but he was resisted, and, together with several officers and some dragoons, killed, by a numerous party of the

people. The insurrection immediately became real; all the French who fell in with the insurgents were massacred, and a number of Arabs appeared in force at the gates of the city. The *generale* was beat, the French troops flew to their arms, and forming in moveable columns, they marched, taking several pieces of artillery with them, against the Insurgents; the latter, in general, repaired to the different mosques, which they barricadoed, and whence they directed a galling fire against the foldiers: the mosques were soon forced, and a terrible combat ensued between the parties, in which the French seemed to be actuated only by feelings of desperation and revenge. Cannon, placed on several of the adjoining eminences, and those of the citadel, were fired on the town, and the great mosque, and other stations of the Insurgents, were set on fire. The sanguinary spirit of the French was directed against the hoary-headed Coraim, formerly arrested and sent on board the *L'Orient*. Admiral Brueys, too generous to let an innocent man suffer in such a contest as that of the 1st of August, had put him on shore before the battle. The old man was found at Rosetta, and the vindictive spirit of Menou ordered him to be sent to Buonaparté at Cairo, where he fell into the hands of the heroes of the Po and the Pyramids, who tore him to pieces, and paraded his head about the streets upon a pole, *à la mode-à-Paris*! At length, after many hundreds of innocent people had been massacred, Buonaparté issued, what he affected to call a general pardon, and on the 23d of October, order was entirely restored: but such measures were taken as impressed all parts of the country with the terror of his arms.

Having previously dispatched General Bon across the Desert, with two pieces of cannon, to attack Suez, Buonaparté, accompanied by a part of his état-major, and some members of the Institute, and escorted by a corps of cavalry, on the 26th of December arrived at that post, General Bon having obtained possession thereof without difficulty. The following day was spent in viewing the town and coast, and ordering such works and fortifications as Buonaparté deemed necessary for their defence. On the 28th of December he passed the Red Sea at a ford near Suez, and returned the same evening to Suez, but it being high-water, he was obliged to ascend to the extremity of the Red Sea: this route was rendered the more tedious in consequence of the guide having lost his way in the marshes, from which they extricated themselves with difficulty, being at one time up to the middle in water. The magazines at Suez clearly indicated, that it had once been the *entrepôt*, of a considerable commerce; but at present only barks of small draught can enter the port; at the extremity of a sandbank, which projects a league into the sea, frigates may anchor: this bank is dry at low water, and would admit of the erection of a battery, to protect the anchorage and defend the road.

Buonaparté encouraged commerce by various useful regulations, and superseded the old rates and duties by others less onerous and severe; he also adopted measures for securing the safe carriage of goods from Suéz to Cairo and Belbeis, and made such dispositions as were likely, in a short time, to restore Suez to its ancient splendour. During the stay of Buonaparté four ships arrived there from

Jedda, and the Arabs of Tor came to solicit the friendship of the French. Buonaparté quitted Suez on the 30th of December, and proceeded in a northerly direction. At the distance of two leagues and a half he discovered some vestiges of the entrance of the Canal of Suez, the course of which he followed nearly four leagues; the same night he rested at the fort of Adgeroud; on the 1st of January, 1799, he arrived at Belbeis; and on the 3d he advanced to the Oasis of Mount Horeb, where he thought he discovered some farther remains of the Canal of Suez: this was near its entrance into the irrigated and fruitful lands of Egypt. He traced the course of the canal for the space of several leagues, and persuaded (or, as Berthier says, convinced) by this second discovery, he ordered Citizen Peyre, engineer, to repair to Suez, and to set out, with a sufficient escort, to take a geometrical level of the whole course of the canal—an operation which would finally resolve the problem of its existence.

On his return to Suez Buonaparté learned that Dgezzar had taken possession of the Fort of El-Arish, which defended the frontiers of Egypt; this fortress, situated about two days journey from Cathieh, and ten leagues within the Desert, was occupied by the advanced guard of the Pacha. Certain of being attacked, no other alternative remained to Buonaparté than that of an anticipation of farther hostilities. He quitted Suez immediately, but, previous to his coming to Cairo, he proceeded to Salehieh, near which were cantoned the troops destined to form the advanced guard of

the expedition to Syria; these he ordered to march without delay; he then proceeded with the utmost expedition to Cairo, where he exerted the greatest celerity in the preparations, and in collecting the main body of the army, for the expedition to Syria.



CHAPTER III.

Lowering Aspect of French Affairs.—Hopes of the Confederate Kings.—Cupidity of the French Government.—The Weakness of the English Cabinet loses St. Domingo.—Its Conduct contrasted with that of France.—The immense Advantages which France obtained from the Pusillanimity of the English Government towards fraudulent Neutrals.—The French Ambassador quits Vienna.—Austria indicates a renewal of the War.—Operations commence in Italy under General Mack.—War declared against Naples and Sardinia.—Piedmont seized by the French.—Rome taken by the Neapolitans, and Leghorn by the English.—Mack defeated, and the French re-enter Rome.—Ehrenbreitstein surrenders to the French.—Armistice with Naples.—The King goes on board the English Fleet.—Commutations in Naples.—Fury of the Lazaroni.—The French storm the City of Naples.—Dreadful Carnage.—The City gained by the French declaring for St. Januarius.—The Lazaroni declare for the French.—Naples declared a Republic.—The Directory cashier Championnet.—Republic of Lucca overturned.

BEING now about to dare his fortune amidst the sandy deserts, and having thus exiled himself from the theatre of his conquests and his glory, it is necessary that our History should return to Europe, and enquire what effect was produced by the absence of that Hero, to whose talents alone both his friends and enemies seemed to ascribe all the successes of the French arms.

It will be recollected, that, having made peace with the Emperor of Germany, Buonaparté had left

France negotiating a treaty with the princes of the Empire at Rastadt; and, at the moment that the congress opened, the power of the Republic appeared to be so perfectly consolidated, that no reasonable doubt could be entertained but that the Empire would be induced, from mere panic, to accept of peace upon almost any terms; but the departure of Buonaparté, with the flower of his army, inspired the allied courts, and the deliberations were protracted with a view of taking advantage of events. The hungry policy of the Directory soon gave the enemies of France a pretence for gaining all the time they desired: it had been stipulated that the fortresses of Kehl and Cassel should be surrendered by the French to the Imperial troops, and that, in return, that of Ehrenbreitstein should be given over to a French garrison.

The French had not suffered the smallest succour to be conveyed into Ehrenbreitstein, but they refused to allow the Austrians to take possession of the other fortresses: upon these inferior points, therefore, a great length of time was consumed, which a wise policy would have employed in *securing* a peace so honourable as that of Campo Formio, even at the expense of such an inconsiderable sacrifice. The members of the congress were encouraged, by the final subjugation of Ireland, to hope that England would be able to find resources for a new confederacy if the negotiation should fail, and the supplying Ehrenbreitstein was made the only point of discussion. Things were in this state, when news arrived in Europe, that the French fleet had been destroyed by Admiral Nelson, and the old hopes of

marching triumphantly to Paris revived in the bosoms of all the conquered sovereigns. Intelligence of that great event reached St. Petersburg, overland, nearly as soon as it reached London; and the Emperor Paul evinced a disposition to act more effectually against the Republic than the Empress Catharine had done, whom he had lately succeeded. Rumours were industriously circulated that Great Britain had agreed to subsidize Russia, and that the French frontier would soon be attacked by all the barbarous tribes of the North; but though the French Government retained all its pride and violence, it had lost all its energy and promptitude: the Directory saw the storm gathering, but the cupidity and avarice of its members had so disgusted the country with their government that they dreaded the consequences of acquainting the people with their danger.

In the meantime, the naval triumphs of the English had totally annihilated the commerce of France; and the merchants, who had hitherto found their way into the Mediterranean markets, saw, with the most manifest chagrin and rage, the productions of their own country depreciated for want of buyers, whilst those of their rivals increased so much in value that the English merchants grew rich with the same rapidity as *they* went to ruin. These grievances were increased by the rapacity of all the ministers and officers of the Directory, who, uncertain as to the duration of their power, seemed all determined to make the most of their situations while they held them. To such an extent was the practice of bribery and corruption carried, that, in a negotiation with the United States, the merits of which it would be foreign to the nature of this Work to discuss,

the minister, Talleyrand, offered, by the intervention of secret agents, to settle the point in dispute for a sum of money, as a present, which it was proposed that the American ambassadors should remit to a confidential friend of his. No justice, therefore, was dispensed by the government either to friends or enemies, either to its own people or to strangers; and the spirit of insurrection began again to shew itself in La Vendee, to an extent that led the hostile courts to calculate upon a powerful diversion in their favour from the people of France themselves.

The policy of the English Government was not marked with greater wisdom than that of France, for, though the gallantry of its commanders and people was unequalled by any age or nation, the acquisitions of the warrior were rendered nugatory by the imbecility of the cabinet. Although this position is demonstrated by almost every act of the government from the commencement of the war, it had not been more mischievously illustrated than it was in the case of St. Domingo. This valuable island, the principal scene of the horrid and sanguinary contest that ensued in consequence of sudden dissolution of slavery, had been subdued, and taken possession of by the British arms, at an expense of millions of money and thousands of lives; and none of the inhabitants were inclined to return under the French government; but it now appeared that, in the late negotiation, the restoration of the island was insisted on by France, without any resistance on the part of the British ministry, which indicated an intention of retaining it as a part of the British Empire; and the colonists became unwilling to preserve their loyalty for a government that was likely

to barter them away to those who would punish them in proportion to the length of time that they exercised it. The People of Colour and Negroes were joined by the French Royalists, and, altogether, harassed the British forces under General Maitland so much, that he found it necessary to act some time upon the defensive; and, at last, for want of sufficient support, to enter into a treaty for the evacuation of the place with Toussaint Louverture, a black of extraordinary talents and accomplishments, who had arrived at the rank of general and commander in chief, in a place where he had formerly been a slave!

The British Government attempted to justify themselves for the loss of this valuable possession upon this pretence, that it required a much larger force to keep it than it was worth; and the people of England were, as they are to this day, ignorant enough to believe it. The truth is, that it was a neglect of the means that they had then in their power, and a pusillanimous sacrifice of the interests of the English people to those of neutral nations that prevented them keeping possession of St. Domingo, as well as all the colonies belonging to the enemy. It was, in fact, because the English Government had not the wisdom nor the courage to use the weapons that circumstances put into their hands. The talents of Mr. Pitt's parliaments went very little beyond the power of judging when he desired them to say, aye, or no; and their courage was confined to the single point of making their people content to work for small wages and pay high for commodities; but, in no one solitary instance, did one of those parliaments, either out of

love to its own country, or hatred to its enemies, muster courage enough to meet a DECREE of the *French Convention* by an ACT of the *English Parliament*; and yet there never was one hour, during the whole war, in which the English Parliament had not more power to carry its acts into effect than the French Legislature had to execute its decrees. When the French entered any territory that they chose to keep, they simply passed a decree, that henceforth it should belong to France; and they maintained their right upon the ground of their own decree; it was, indeed, a new principle of policy, but the dignity of the English nation required that the organ of its authority should not have conceded to France the exclusive right of conquering by decrees. By a decree the National Convention declared that Savoy should, for the future, be called France; and, by the same omnipotent power, they transported the boundaries of France to the banks of the Rhine and the Mediterranean; twelve millions of people were thus made certain of their future destiny; and, as the law was unchangeable, it secured as much of obedience as the force of arms. Justice demanded that the Government of England should have consulted the interest of its people by conquering at the same cheap rate. All communication within the reach of the British fleet should have been cut off from the dominion of France by an English act of Parliament, in the same manner as the states within the reach of the French armies were annexed to it by a decree of that Government. The naval power of England was as great as the military power of France; and, therefore, there was no principle upon

which that government could claim the restoration of any of her colonies against an English law, until she disclaimed the sovereign authority of her own decrees; but the British ministry surrendered at discretion, and at once yielded to the enemy the right of recovering what he had lost and keeping what he had taken. This dastardly conduct led to the evacuation of St. Domingo, and permitted the enemy to recover his commerce and his strength, whilst the people of England were burdened with the expense of protracted war, because their government had not spirit enough to adopt measures sufficiently bold to shew that they were *determined* to conquer.

The concessions of the British ministry began, shortly, to operate more powerfully in favour of French commerce and French interests than any effort, either of the government or arms of that country, could have done. The Americans, and other neutral nations, unblushingly opened a trade for false papers, by which means they undertook to cover all French property as their own, and thus to insure the trade between France and her colonies, in defiance of an expensive navy, maintained by the labour and industry of the British people, and falsely pretended to be kept up for the purpose of weakening the power of their enemy by destroying his commerce.

This trade became tolerated at last, by the misnamed delicacy of the British Court of Admiralty, which seemed to be awed more by the pseudo philosophy of a party in the English parliament, called Foxites, than a fear of sacrificing the interests of its country to the blustering demands of injustice.



General Bernadotte?
(^{now}) Duke of Lente Corve. &c!

Men, in some of the neutral states, known by the English cruizers to be not worth a hoghead of tobacco, were found, suddenly, to become possessed of ten or twelve ships, and cargoes of goods sailing from the enemies ports, as their own purchases. When such ships were taken, if, in any fit of drunkenness or carelessness, the sham owners had omitted to procure the perjuries or false papers necessary to blind an English judge, they were condemned; but, as this seldom happened, eleven out of twelve of such ships were restored to their fraudulent owners, although detection in one single instance proved that he was a hired perjurer in the service of our enemies.

So much hope was now entertained by ministers of gaining all their objects by kindling a new war upon the Continent, that they diverted their means from their own element, and directed them afresh to a military crusade. An event had happened at Vienna which threatened to contribute its share towards embroiling Austria and France anew. General Bernadotte, the French ambassador at the court of Vienna, on taking up his residence there as the minister of Peace, chose to hang an immense flag out at the window of his hotel, which was a novelty that excited the notice of the passengers, and collected a number of people before his door. This was a species of insult that our inoffensive Republican could not submit to; for certainly an ignorant rabble had no right to make any observation upon the conduct of an ambassador of "the Great Nation!" although he had a right to do what he pleased to tempt their observation. Still the crowd wondered what the flag meant, and, in spite of the threats of the

Bobadil ambassador, continued to stare: the French servants came out to drive them away; they resisted: the General declared that he was attacked in his palace, charged the court of Vienna with a conspiracy to insult him, would listen to no explanation, demanded his passports, and returned home in a violent rage, to persuade his countrymen that they must instantly revenge the injury done to their ambassador by a declaration of war. Upon this point the Directory opened a separate negociation with Austria, which, owing to the frivolity of the dispute, was not of a nature to arrive at any conclusion: this, therefore, like the negociation at Rastadt, was interrupted by the certainty that a very large army of Russians was on its march, and would attempt to reach the French frontier through the Austrian States. Before the Directory could obtain any satisfactory explanation from the Emperor upon this head, the Austrians took possession of the Grisons, without any intimation to Switzerland of its intention; and the King of Naples, at the same time, advanced towards the North, with an army well provided with every requisite for taking the field. It was now impossible for the Directory to retain its apathy any longer; and, notwithstanding the dilapidated state of the finances, every branch of the war department was put into the greatest activity. No less than 600,000,000 were wanted, and among the ways and means of raising this sum, 30,000,000 were proposed to be levied as a tax upon salt: in the whole budget there was not, perhaps, a less oppressive one; but our readers will recollect, that it would have been extremely unpopular, as it served to recal the infamous *gabelle*, on which account it was rejected by the

Council: but, if it was rejected, it found a substitute in another, equally oppressive, the imposing a duty on all provisions and merchandise brought into the cities and towns of the Republic.

The Neapolitan troops collected on the frontiers of the Roman state, which, on account of an affray, wherein a French officer had been killed, the Directory had, at the beginning of the year, revolutionized and declared a republic: this circumstance was construed into an attack on an ally of France, and the offence of Naples was aggravated by the fleet under the command of Admiral Nelson having met with a friendly reception, whilst Mangouvit, the Secretary of the French Legation, had been refused, and the ambassador, Lacombe St. Michel, treated with contempt. General Mack declared that Rome was to be protected by his army, at the express command of the government of Naples, and ordered General Championnet to evacuate the territory, which Championnet declared to be a violation of the rights of nations; and, in a letter, to General Mack assured him, that he should be responsible for the events of a sanguinary contest, which would certainly be injurious to the cause of humanity.

General Mack returned an answer, purporting that the Neapolitan troops had passed the frontier the day before, with the King in person at their head, to take possession of the Roman territory, which he affirmed had been revolutionized and usurped since the treaty of Campo Formio, and never acknowledged by his Sicilian Majesty, or his ally the Emperor of Germany. He concluded with a peremptory demand to evacuate the Roman Republic, without vio-

lating that of Tuscany, and that a refusal would be considered as a declaration of war, his Sicilian Majesty being well able to enforce the just demands addressed to him in his name. Such was the negligence of the Directory that the French army did not exceed 10,000 men at the time when no fewer than 76,000 troops entered the frontiers! The magazines were totally empty; they had no arms, artillery, or place properly stored with provisions; and at Civita Vecchia, it is said, there was not so much powder as would serve to fire at a Barbary corsair, which at that period menaced the port!

When the Legislative Body of France received intelligence respecting the entry of the Neapolitan troops, it declared war against the kings of the Two Sicilies and Sardinia: the King of Sardinia was easily dispossessed of his continental dominions, as the French had been in possession of the citadel of Turin for a considerable time. No opposition was made to the invasion of Piedmont, for the King delivered up the country into the hands of the Republicans, by virtue of an act, which he signed in the month of December. The King declared himself to have renounced the exercise of all authority, and commanded his subjects, of every description, to be obedient to the provisional government which the French were about to establish. The Piedmontese army was charged to consider itself as a part of the French army of Italy, and obey the Republican general as if he were himself.

The principal part of the Neapolitan troops entered Rome on the 29th of November, and the combined fleets of Great Britain and Naples got possession of the harbour of Leghorn: the French retreated towards Civita Castellana, after leaving a

garrison in the Castle of St. Angelo. The commander was summoned to surrender, in which General Mack declared, that if the Neapolitan troops were fired at he would put to death the sick troops in the hospitals, one soldier for every shot; but this cowardly flourish did not last long, for the Republicans, having received strong reinforcements, engaged the army of Naples, and captured 12,000 prisoners, together with 100 pieces of cannon and 20 pair of colours. The defeat was so entire that Rome was immediately abandoned by the King, and the victorious troops of the Republic again took possession of it: they immediately proceeded towards Naples, and an armistice, upon any terms whatever, was humbly implored by General Mack. He urged the inclemency of the weather and the wretched state of the roads as motives for his demand; but General Championnet informed him, that as his victorious troops had bid defiance to every obstacle of which he complained, they would make no halt till they had entered the city of Naples in triumph.

A year had nearly been spent by the plenipotentiaries at Rastadt, when the march of the Russian troops, and the extensive military preparations on the part of that empire, caused the plenipotentiaries of the Republic, on the 1st of January 1799, to declare, that if the troops were permitted to enter the territories of his Imperial Majesty, it would be considered by France as a direct infringement of neutrality.

About this time the French forces, which had left the right side of the Rhine, re-crossed that river, and took a position on the side of Germany, in opposition to the remonstrances of the Count of Metternich,

who presented fresh memorials respecting that perpetual topic the raising the siege of Ehrenbreitstein : but as it was more than probable that the deliberations at Rastadt would not be of long continuance, the Republic deemed itself fully warranted in preparing for the worst. The forces stationed between Cologn and Mentz, on the left bank of the Rhine, united themselves with the besiegers of Ehrenbreitstein on the right bank of the river. After a gallant resistance of eighteen months, it was, at length, compelled to surrender, by the iron hand of famine. The stores found there by the Republicans consisted of 192 pieces of artillery, 100,000 balls, bombs, and grenades, 1,000,000 of cartridges, 450,000 weight of powder, 5,000 muskets, and a vast number of other articles.

During these transactions, General Championnet, who, in the end of last year, was encamped at St. Germano, removed his head quarters to Torre, where he was made acquainted with the success attending the exertions of General Rey against Gaeta, which had been captured, together with vast quantities of magazines and provisions of every kind, and a large train of artillery and stores.

The French commander in chief was unacquainted with the state of the centre and left wing of his army, under General Duhesme, who was as ignorant of the destiny of the right wing : he had forced his way, by the coast of the Adriatic, through a country everywhere intersected by rivers, and well defended by the troops of the enemy. He crossed the Salinello and the Trentino, although with considerable loss ; and, on reaching Vomano, he found it had been crossed by the enemy, with a view to

put a period to the prosecution of his march. He drove them from their position, but, perceiving they intended to make a regular attack, he marched forward to the river on the ensuing day, effected the passage of it in their presence, and, after throwing a body of troops with the utmost rapidity on their flank, his victory was decisive, and, he compelled the right wing of the Neapolitans to retreat. Notwithstanding its successes, the French army was assaulted in all directions by an armed peasantry and people, and was otherwise in very great distress, when a deputation of Neapolitan officers, authorised by the Viceroy, waited upon General Championnet, proposing to deliver up the city of Capua, on condition of being granted an armistice, as the basis of a permanent treaty. It is a singular circumstance that Championnet should have treated this proposition with contempt, at a time when he, himself, was astonished at receiving such a proposition. He called in all his posts from mere necessity, resolving either to conquer or perish, when the arrival of the former deputation was announced by the sound of a trumpet, it having received more extensive powers. It cannot be imagined that Championnet was long in forming a resolution, since, in his state, it would have been madness to hesitate, and obstinacy would have been his ruin.

An armistice was concluded between the Republican General and the Prince of Milliano, in which it was stipulated that Capua should be delivered into the hands of the French, with all its artillery and stores; the army of Championnet was to possess the country from Acerra before Naples; Benevento, and

along the Adriatic, was to form a line of demarkation; the ports belonging to Naples, were to be evacuated by every ship belonging to any power at war with the Republic; and, finally, the Neapolitans were to pay to France 10,000,000 of livres. Hostilities were not to commence till three days previous notice should be given by either of the contracting parties. The King, with the royal family, had fled to Palermo some days before, having committed the management of affairs to M. Pignatelli, as viceroy, and he now went on board the British ships, together with his court, attended by the Russian, Austrian, and British ministers.

The Republican General, in a secret note to the Directory, which went along with the account of the capitulation of Capua, described the melancholy situation of his army, declaring that he was completely surrounded on all hands, destitute of provision, ammunition, and articles of every kind; so that the loss of a battle would have been the ruin of his whole army, and that a victory, even before Capua, would have availed him nothing. He conceived the possession of this place as of the utmost importance, since he found in it an ample supply for the army of all its wants, and greatly facilitated the conquest of Naples. He considered an armistice granted to a people so replete with perfidy as no more than a stratagem of war, and that the one he had now concluded, was of such a texture as could be broken by the Neapolitans whenever they deemed it proper; and, in fine, that he had no doubt of effecting the conquest of Naples before or about the time at which the news of the surrender of Capua could reach the Directory, as he possessed the means of cor-

responding with the disaffected party, which was very numerous. The King was so dissatisfied with the treaty that he refused to continue the armistice, and, in the most reproachful language, told the Viceroy, "that he must have forgotten that he had a master when he signed such a treaty for the sake of preserving the capital." On the contrary, the Directory passed the severest censures upon General Championnet, for agreeing to any armistice till he had subdued the capital and the whole kingdom.

The partisans of the French were very numerous among the principal families, and, as the King opposed the treaty, it was insinuated that he had abdicated the kingdom. The French commander exerted himself with activity in communicating with the malcontents; for which purpose he appointed a committee to obtain a circumstantial account of the real state of affairs in the city, and at last the revolutionary party resolved to rally round the standard of the French Republic, having received the strongest assurances of protection and assistance from Championnet, in effecting the subversion of the old government. When payment was demanded of the 10,000,000, which had been promised at the capitulation of Capua, the most violent commotions ensued, and the French agent very narrowly escaped assassination. The Lazzaroni, who were true royalists, now came to an open rupture with the Republicans, and mutual destruction was the order of the day. The lovers of monarchy traversed the streets like madmen, having got possession of arms; but in vain did they invoke the names of the King and their beloved St. Januarius, for the Republican cause was

finally triumphant. The Neapolitan army was terrified at the furious behaviour of the Lazzaroni, and unacquainted with their mode of fighting; for which reason they determined to throw themselves, as deserters, on the generosity of the French. Championnet afforded them protection, and thus the army of Naples was reduced to nothing!

The royalist party considered General Mack in the light of a traitor, who, having been acquainted with his imminent danger, and completely deserted by his foldiers, found there was no time to deliberate, and, therefore, sent an officer before him to crave protection from General Championnet. So hotly was he pursued that he reached the camp of the French Commander almost as soon as the officer, and was received by him with kindness and affability. He received a passport, and was escorted to Milan. This so enraged the Lazzaroni, that they hastily collected all their forces in a body, and, like a whirlwind, poured their vengeance on the advanced posts of the Republicans at Ponte Rotto, defeated the advanced guards, and pushed forward to the very line of the French army, where vast multitudes were put to death, and the rest took refuge in flight.

The fury of these wretched beings was for some time restrained by the interposition of the Prince of Molliterno, who had the address to be chosen their general; but, when they understood that he wished to negotiate with the French, they deserted his standard. Duke Della Torre, and his brother Clement Filomavino, became victims to their fury, being first murdered, and then burnt to ashes, although they were never known to be inimical to monarchy.

As the Lazzaroni had made an attack upon the vanguard of the Republican army, Championnet considered it as a signal for the attack of Naples.

Two divisions succeeded in gaining the heights in its vicinity; two other got possession of Capo di Monte, that they might be enable to correspond, by signals, with the fort of St. Elmo, which they understood had fallen into the hands of Prince Molliterno and his friends. The centre of the first division was planted between Capo di Chino and the city, while the vanguard took a position near the suburbs. The East of the city was taken up by the left division, and had a communication with the right, or North-west, by means of a bridge, under General Rusea. The artillery was commanded by General Eble, and so advantageously posted as to give it the entire command of the city. Everything was now ready for action, and the soldier waited with impatience for the signal of his commander, to pour upon the devoted city an incessant storm of Republican thunder. But Championnet felt a hesitation in giving it, as he was anxious to spare the effusion of human blood, could he have found any other means of bringing to his purpose those, who were assembled in the city, to the amount of 60,000, with a resolution of defending it to the last extremity.

General Championnet intimated the humanity of this intention by a proclamation, and sent it to the magistrates by the chief of a squadron; but as the mob were now the magistrates, the messenger was received by a volley of musketry; the pommel of his saddle was shattered by a ball, and, after attempting in vain, to make them understand the propositions of the

general, a second volley compelled him to return. As general Championnet fondly hoped that the appearance of his army would reduce the Lazzaroni to submission, he had purposely deferred the assault till the ensuing day; but their frequent sallies during the night, and the fire they kept up, convinced him that they could be subdued by nothing but force. Those who had got possession of St. Elmo acquainted the general in the night time that they only waited his commands to open a dreadful fire upon the city. The two battalions on Capo di Monte, received orders to march during the silence of the night, and, taking the shortest possible route, form a junction with the garrison of St. Elmo, to unite their colours with those of the patriots, and immediately discharge upon the city the whole of their artillery. This was to be the signal for general Eble to roll his thunder upon it, and the whole army investing the city were, at the same time, to rush impetuously forward, and bear down every thing before it.

The conflict soon became bloody, and victory was long uncertain. Although the shades of night overtook them the firing still continued, when the Republican troops having formed into two divisions, and being exhausted with fatigue, one of them continued to charge on the gallant enemy, while the other lay down to obtain some repose, amidst a dismal heap of carnage and ruins. At the dawn of the succeeding day the battle continued to rage with fury, and it was still dubious who would be the conquerors. To terminate the conflict as soon as possible, general Championnet gave orders to force the passages to the Castello Novo, and the Fort del Camine, at the point of the bayonet. A division was

ordered to seize on the palace, by penetrating into the heart of the city, and another to form a junction with the garrison of St. Elmo, already in possession of part of the city.

At this dreadful period, while all was yet horror and uncertainty, it struck the French general that he might make a successful attack on the superstitious ideas of those savage people, and, therefore, he published an account of his sacred regard for their great St. Januarius! This had the desired effect; the conversion of Championnet flew like lightning through the city, and wrought greater miracles in his favour than the thunder of his artillery. One of their chiefs put himself at the head of the Republicans, delivered an oration to his terrific soldiers, commanded them to stop their firing, and to lay down their arms. He was listened to with reverence, and obeyed with alacrity. This produced a happy termination of hostilities, and the horrors of war were succeeded by acclamations of fanatical joy.

The Lazzaroni relinquished their former political sentiments, and became the strenuous advocates of liberty and equality. They began to plunder the royal palace, which but a little before they would have defended with the last drop of their blood, and it required the interference of their supposed convert, General Championnet, to prevent them from committing the most extravagant excesses. He took possession of all the forts, left the command of the place to General Dufresne, and encamped his army on the heights around the city of Naples. He prudently disarmed the fickle and furious inhabitants, a salutary measure, which produced the greatest order

and tranquillity, and prevented the public peace from being disturbed. The army, which had wrought such miracles under its able commander, was afterwards denominated "The Army of Naples." This name the General, in person, proclaimed to his troops, the intelligence being accompanied by the shouts of the multitude, and the tremendous thunder of cannon. The flames of Mount Vesuvius added an awful grandeur to the ceremony, an eruption of which had not taken place for five years before: this had hitherto been considered by the superstitious inhabitants as an indication of the displeasure of St. Januarius, but it was now viewed as a token of his regard.

The heads of the clergy, and many of the nobles, celebrated the entry of the French. Te Deum was sung; the Commander in Chief congratulated the Neapolitans on their being free; the abolition of monarchy was decreed, the state declared a Republic; and the government was entrusted to the Neapolitan patriots, under the instruction of the French army.

General Championnet, with all his principal officers, were, unaccountably, cashiered by the Directory, about this time, as traitors; and General Serrurier, who had shewn himself worthy of such employers, by having seized the little republic of Lucca, overturned its government, and laid it under a contribution for 2,000,000 of livres, received the command of the army of Naples.

CHAPTER IV.

Minorca taken by the English.—The Spaniards defeated at Honduras.—The English blockade Malta.—Disposition of the Hostile Armies at the opening of the Campaign of 1799.—Jourdan defeated by the Archduke Charles.—Shameful Conduct of the Directory towards General Jourdan.—Massena occupies the Gisons.—Surprising March of the French over the Alps.—They completely Defeat the Austrians.—Laudohn joins General Bellegarde, and they Retreat before the French, who get Possession of the Passes of the Tyrol.—General Jourdan recalled.—Defeat of the Austrians by Moreau.—Scherer, who succeeded Jourdan, defeated.—The French retreat to Peschiera.—They are defeated near Verona, by General Kray.—The French signally defeated near Roverbello, and forced to retreat to Brescia.—The Austrians decline continuing the Negotiation.—The Three French Plenipotentiaries ordered to quit Rastadt: they are attacked by Austrian Hussars, after leaving the Town, and Two of them murdered.

IT must not be forgotten, that whilst the French were making such rapid progress in securing the entire conquest of Italy, a ray of wisdom seemed to have found its way into the cabinet of St. James's; and the people, who had suffered Buonaparté, and an immense armada, to escape unobserved, now began to see the importance of obtaining a rendezvous for the British navy in the Mediterranean. An expedition was fitted out, under Admiral Duckworth and General Stuart, to take Minorca, an island belonging to Spain, but a port of infinite value to

England, as well to afford an opportunity of watching the port of Toulon, as to provide a commercial *dépôt* whence a contraband trade in British goods would be carried on with the Southern French and Spanish coasts to a vast amount. The British landed without opposition; and, though there is little reason to doubt but they would have fought with their usual valour, if they had found any enemy to oppose, their courage was not tried upon the occasion, for the gentlemanly Spanish General, who governed the island, directed no force against the invaders, but his own doubt, whether, in point of honour, he could consistently surrender to the British commander, unless it were demonstrated to him that he was attacked by a superior force. The best demonstration that the British could give was the thunder of their own cannon; and, after receiving a few shot, the poltroon capitulated without resistance!

The Spanish government were not more fortunate in an attack on the Bay of Honduras, conducted by the Governor of Yucatan, for he was totally defeated by the British; and the English arms achieved another victory, equally important, in the capture of Goza, which was followed by the blockade of Malta, so recently wreathed among the laurels of our enemy. Thus the ministry seemed conscious of the oversight they had been guilty of in leaving the enemy unrestrained so long; and, having permitted him once to escape them, they were about to recover that false step, by taking care that his fleet of transports should find no place of shelter, and, consequently, should never return. This policy was perfectly in unison with the interests of England, but it was particularly judicious at a time when the return of those forces

to France, would have encouraged them for the approaching war.

The winter of 1798-9, was so remarkably severe, that the Russians and Austrians were prevented from joining till early in the spring. The French had reasons for procrastination, equally urgent. By authority of the Directory, the plenipotentiaries at Rastadt, issued a proclamation relative to the state of affairs, in which it was asserted that the government wished for peace, and would give orders to their armies to fall back to their former positions, on condition that his Imperial Majesty would cause the Russian troops to evacuate his dominions. This proclamation was followed by an address from General Jourdan, who had crossed the Rhine, in which he breathed the very same sentiments; and the ambassadors at Rastadt wished the Emperor to be assured, that the late movements of the French armies were not to be viewed as forerunners of intended hostilities, but wholly occasioned by the march of the Russians, already complained of. Without concluding the negotiation, the war was decided on by both parties, and the possession of Switzerland by the French gave them such an advantage, that the government could not fail determining to act on the offensive. To prevent the junction of the Russian and Austrian army on the Adige it was necessary to attempt dislodging the latter from the station which it occupied on that river. The advantage resulting from success in this attempt, was inseparably connected with victory in an attack on the frontiers of the Tyrol; to acquire which, the passes of the mountains must be possessed by the Republicans, and the attention of the Austrians diverted, by

drawing the greater part of their forces towards the Danube. In covering this attack, the right wing of Jourdan's army (now called the army of the Danube) was to be supported by that of Switzerland: this extensive plan was the result of uncommon talents, and its different parts were executed with incredible dispatch. To make themselves masters of the Grisons, and the valley of the Rhine was an interesting point, to enable them to penetrate successfully into that of the Inn: the centre of the French army was to make the chief effort, for which it was abundantly strong, and their movements on the Rhine began with their left, at the greatest distance from what they intended to make the theatre of war.

The French availed themselves of their positions in Switzerland that they might speedily reach the mountains of the Black Forest, on the East side of the Rhine, and gain the heights bordering on the Lake of Constance, to give unity and strength to their attacks. The Archduke, in the mean time, passed the River Lech on the 5th of March, on the right side of which he had collected the greater part of his forces. His first attention was turned to Ulm, which he sufficiently garrisoned and stored with provisions, as he intended that it should flank the right wing of his army; and having marched his troops, which were on the left side of the Danube, by the way of Donauwerth, he fixed his head-quarters at Memmingen. His left wing was at Kempten, his centre at Memmingen, and his right at Ulm, by which means he could act on the offensive as well as defensive, and support the operations of the left wing in the Voralberg, as he continued to advance. General Stzarray commanded on the left of the Danube, to keep a

watchful eye on the movements of Bernadotte, and Nauendorf was chief of the vanguard of the main army. The total of the Republican forces in Swabia and Switzerland amounted to 80,000 men, while those of Austria, from the Tyrol to the left bank of the Danube, were 110,000. The French and Austrian forces on the Rhine were nearly equal, amounting to about 25,000 each.

As the Republican commander in chief found that the Imperial army was inclined to keep a medium line between the Lake of Constance and the Danube, instead of marching towards that river he availed himself of the opportunity thus afforded him of seizing on such positions as would secure his communication with the army of Switzerland. The two formidable armies of the hostile powers occupied an extent of country from the banks of the Danube to the Adriatic Gulph. The first acts of hostility took place on the right of the two French armies, which were opposed to the main body of the Austrians and the divisions sent to the left under the Archduke's command. The head quarters of General Massena were established at Alstatten, in the Rheinthal, who commanded an army of 45,000 men, menacing the entrance into the country of the Grisons. While Jourdan drew his forces towards the Lake of Constance, General Massena proceeded to Sargans, and summoned Aussenberg to evacuate the Grisons; with this summons the Imperial General refused to comply, and, therefore, Massena gave orders to make a vigorous, but feigned, attack on Feldkirch, in order more effectually to conceal his operations, and thereby prevent Hotze from grant-

ing the necessary aid to General Auffenberg at Coire.

At the same time he sent a division to turn Coire by the heights, and assault the bridges on the forks of the Rhine, above the town of Reichnaw, five miles farther up the river than Coire. The centre of his army at the same time crossed the river, got possession of Baltzars, and thus cut off the communication between Feldkirch and the Grisons. After a formidable opposition the posts of Meyenfeld and Zollbruck were forced; the fort of Luciensteg was carried by assault, and the French having forced their way across the river at Ragatz, and got possession of the castle of Holdenstein, General Auffenberg being almost surrounded, and in a situation which precluded any assistance, surrendered Coire, and his whole division became prisoners, to the amount of 7,000 men. While General Massena was in possession of the Grisons he made an unsuccessful attack upon Feldkirch, and then sent a division of his army towards the sources of the Inn: the adverse armies were distant from each other but one day's march; both had an eye on the interesting post of Feldkirch, which the Archduke was anxious to reinforce, and render superior to assault, and which General Jourdan was eager to obtain before the farther prosecution of his march. The French General was, uneasy at the superior force under the immediate command of the Archduke, which amounted to 66,000 men, and his own to no more than 38,000. He frequently ordered General Bernadotte to reinforce him by effecting a junction; but as that officer had to contend with Stzarray's army in his front he was under the necessity of disobeying.

The French attacked the entrenchments of Feldkirch with determined bravery, on the 12th of March, but were driven back with considerable loss. On the 14th they made a similar attempt, but with no better success: this led the Archduke to repose the utmost confidence in his defensive line of 18,000 men, which covered his left wing, and consequently he pushed forward his van-guard towards Stockach. Jourdan wanted reinforcements; but as he entertained little doubt of the success of General Massena against Feldkirch, he fell back on Engen, united his whole force, called in the detachments on the rear of his left, and seemed to wait the attack of the Austrian army between Hohen-Twiel and Dutlingen: it was at last impracticable to avoid a general engagement, as the contending armies observed each other so near that it was with difficulty their advanced guards could perform their respective manœuvres. The advantages which would result from the first attack General Jourdan was unwilling to lose, and the plan he had formed for himself suggested the constant necessity of acting on the offensive. His van-guard proceeded to Pfullendorf on the 18th of March, where he fixed his head quarters, and the left wing of his army commanded by General St. Cyr, was stationed on the left bank of the Danube.

The Archduke, on the other hand, had his van-guard on the heights of Sulgau and Alhausen, his head quarters being at Schaundorf: the main body of his army was in the rear, somewhat less than one day's march, the two being only separated from the Republican army by the small river of Ostrach and a valley. In this situation, General Jourdan sent an

officer to the camp of the Austrian van-guard, to enquire whether or not the dispatches expected by the French Directory from the court of Vienna had arrived; and, on being informed that they had not, he proclaimed the armistice at an end. As was to be expected, this intimation was succeeded by a severe attack, during which the van-guard of the Imperialists was compelled to retreat beyond Klosterbeuren, where it received reinforcements from the main body of the army. On the subsequent day the Archduke returned the charge, with a view to force Jourdan to quit his position before Pfullendorf, when he succeeded in compelling him to retreat towards Engen and Stockach: it appears to have been Jourdan's object to draw the Archduke from the Lake of Constance, to facilitate the execution of the plan he had concerted with Massena, and assault the entrenchments of Feldkirch both in front and rear. To defeat this intention, which the Austrians had anticipated, General Hotze left the defence of the place to the officers under him, and marched on to Landau, to check the operations of Jourdan's right wing. No sooner had Hotze marched from Feldkirch than Massena availed himself of the diversion made by General Jourdan on the Danube, and attacked that fortress with redoubled fury.

As the retrograde manœuvres of General Jourdan in the face of the Archduke left to Massena but one favourable opportunity prior to the return of General Hotze, he made a desperate attack upon Feldkirch in different points, with a body of grenadiers, forming a junction with the troops of Oudinot. This attack was conducted by Massena in person, who was driven back with considerable loss,

and that sustained by the enemy was not inferior to his own. General Oudinot was obliged to recross the Rhine, occupying the important station at Rheineck, at the confluence of that river into the Lake of Constance, which induced Hotze to resume his position at Feldkirch. Flushed with his late successes, the Archduke continued to pursue Jourdan's army, which had fallen back to its formidable position beyond Stockach; and as he was certain that he could, if driven to extremities, secure his retreat by the way of Schaffhausen, he determined to make another attempt to draw the Archduke from the Lake of Constance.

With this view he resolved to hazard a general engagement, since neither the rapidity of his own marches, the success of Massena in the Grisons, nor the reiterated assaults of that general against Feldkirch, had hitherto been able to produce their intended effects. At this period he received a command from the Directory to cross the Rhine, and force his way into Germany, to which he replied on the 2d of March, that the army which he commanded, did not exceed 66,000 men, including those in Switzerland, and on the Danube, while he had to contend with an army of not less than 150,000, in which case, he declared to the ignorant or perfidious Directory, that a contest with such superior numbers might make him fall with glory, but it was impossible to expect reaping any laurels. The defeat of General Jourdan's army excited great alarm at Paris, and drew down upon the Directory the just execrations of the people, while they, in their turn, endeavoured to throw the blame upon Jourdan, whom they represented as unqualified for such an

undertaking. The hatred of the populace was, in consequence, divided, one party censuring the Directory for employing such a man, and another vehemently exclaiming against General Jourdan for his supposed presumption in accepting of such a charge. But when that gallant officer made public his own plan of the campaign, it remained no longer a secret on whom the blame should devolve: he proposed that his army should be 180,000 strong, that of Italy 140,000, and another of observation, consisting of 40,000 men, and 80,000 for the occasional services of the interior, which was a judicious distribution of the 400,000 men, for whom funds had been voted by the legislative body: these he was promised, but did not receive more than a third of them.

When he took the command of the army of the Danube he could muster no more than 47,300 effective men, and his magazines were a name without meaning. He was to have 6,000 cavalry, and he was put off with 800! So numerous and melancholy were his disappointments that he dispatched an adjutant-general to Paris with an offer of his resignation, and received a letter in a style that was truly ridiculous. The Directory observed, that superior numbers could never dismay an army which had Jourdan for its commander, and, being led on by the Conqueror of Fleurus, they would defy opposition. This was the *ne plus ultra* of insult, and could only originate from ignorance or treachery; they promised everything and accomplished nothing!

The detachments from that division of the army which was commanded by Massena, sent towards the mountains of the Grisons, near the sources of the Inn and Adige, succeeded in securing this key to

Germany and Italy, which was of the last importance to the introductory operations of the Republican army in that country. Casa Bianca entered the Upper Engadin on the 13th of March, and, for the security of his left flank, prior to his penetrating farther into the mountains, caused a division of his troops to march upon the town of Bormio, and engaged the troops commanded by the Austrian general Laudohn on the 16th, compelling him to retreat into the Wintschgau, where, being assisted by General Bellegarde, he maintained his stand. The frontier of the Tyrol had not, as yet, been invaded, and General Laudohn opposed the enemy in the Munsterthal with 5,000 men, guarding the defiles towards the Engadin and Valteline, and securing that passage into the Valley of the Adige denominated Fenosta. He preserved a communication with the posts of Nauders and Martinsbruck by the Valley of Malsheide, or Malserheid, where he was opposed to General Lecourbe, who, meditating an attack on the whole of these positions, marched upon Nauders and Martinsbruck with his division, and gave orders to the troops under the command of Desolles and Lifou to attack the town of Munster.

In their march to this town the Republicans bade defiance to difficulties which would have arrested the progress of those who guide strangers over the Glaciers: they climbed the Wormser, or Bormiojoch, formerly called Mount Jega, reputed one of the highest mountains of the Julian Alps, dividing the sources of the Adda and the Adige, in spite of the eternal snows and ice with which it was covered: they turned the defiles of the entrenched Austrians by mere surprise, as it was never conceived that the Republicans would ever take such a tremendous route. From the sum-

mit of this awful mountain they might be said literally to roll down into the valley, which they reached in safety, and, having collected his troops, General Desolles surprised Glurentz and Taufers, which Laudohn had strongly entrenched; the opposition was desperate on the part of the Austrians, but the valorous Republicans compelled them to surrender. General Lison had penetrated on another side and flanked Nauders, while Lecourbe forced the passage of Martinsbruck; all the Austrian troops, baggage, and cannon, fell into the hands of the French.

During these transactions Laudohn, with a small number of infantry, forced his way through the chain of the Republicans above Glurentz, making a precipitate retreat into the Valley of Venosta: he there formed a junction with General Bellegarde; but their joint forces were incapable of resisting the impetuosity of the French, and they retreated to the protection of Bolzen, where they made a demand for the Tyrolean militia. The victors marched on to Schluderns, and got possession of the head of the two great vallies in the Tyrol; and, while in possession of those important posts, they might be said to have achieved a victory, the most difficult as well as the most essential for the future operations of their armies on either side of the Alps.

At this period the whole of Italy, from the Alps on the South-west to the mountains of Tyrol on the North, and from Venice on the East to Sicily on the South-east, was in the hands of the French; but before the campaign was opened there that of the Danube was terminated by the retreat of Jourdan. In the opinion of many this country might have enabled the Directory to arrest the progress of the combined

powers, and carry the theatre of war into the heart of Germany. Piedmont, Tuscany, and Naples, had already abandoned the absurd idea of dismembering France, and warmly espoused the sentiments of liberty and equality: this might have produced wonderful effects, under the skill and discipline of French soldiers, had they been headed by a man of integrity and knowledge. The Directory had, however, conferred the chief command of the army of Italy upon Scherer, an ex-minister of war, whom they had been obliged to dismiss from that office in compliance with the sentiments of the people.

The army of Jourdan was obliged to abandon all idea of offensive operations, and, uniting with that of Massena, took, as the strongest line of defence that could possibly be formed, the left bank of the Rhine, from the Grisons towards the French territory; General Jourdan was recalled and Massena was appointed commander in chief. In this situation of affairs the Republicans attempted to drive the Austrians, now under the command of General Mélas, from their position on the Lower Adige, and compel them to fall back upon the Brenta. The Russian army had not made its entrance into Italy, and the French endeavoured to accomplish their object before this force arrived. Although Scherer was as odious to the soldiers as his conduct while war minister had been to the Parisians, the army was animated by the most enthusiastic hopes. The French troops were assembled on the frontiers of the Cisalpine Republic, behind Peschiera and Mantua, and the Austrians, under General Kray, arranged along the left side of the Adige behind Verona and Porto Legnago. The Republicans made an attack on the whole of the

Austrian line, which extended from the Lake of Garda to the Adige, in a South-east direction, on the 26th of March. One division threatened Porto Legnago, being the flank of the Austrian army's left wing, two marched towards Verona, and three endeavoured to turn the posts of the right of the Imperial line, reaching to Bardolino on the East of Lake Garda, protecting the entrance of the valley between Rivoli and La Chiufa.

The intention of this movement was to gain possession of Verona in the rear, on the left side of the Adige, being at the same time attacked in front, with the hope of compelling the Austrians to abandon it. This was the plan of General Moreau, who led on the three divisions under Generals Delmas, Serrurier, and Grenier, and it had the good fortune to be crowned with the happiest success; the entrenchments and redoubts were carried; they made themselves masters of Rivoli, crossed the Adige, and, after proceeding to La Chiufa, they cut the Austrian line, some of which retreated as far as Peri, after sustaining very considerable loss. Scherer, with the centre of the Republican army, attacked the outposts of Verona, and an attempt was made at the same time against St. Lucia and St. Macimin, the former of which was carried, but the latter still continued in possession of the Austrians, after it had been captured and recaptured several times: the Republicans were also unsuccessful in their assault on Porto Legnago, where one of their generals lost his life, and they were obliged to retreat towards Mantua.

The day after these reverses General Scherer abandoned the field of battle, after a number of trifling efforts, the divisions under the command of General

Moreau being obliged to re-cross the Adige and retreat towards Peschiera, as their being cut off would otherwise have been unavoidable. This retrograde movement was undertaken, very reluctantly, by General Moreau, who strongly, but vainly, remonstrated with Scherer respecting his keeping his position before Verona. Kray drew strong detachments to the support of his left, but, on discovering that the greater part of the French forces were destined to act against his centre and right wing, he sent them back to Verona, not doubting but the Republicans would renew their assaults upon that quarter. He was so far disappointed, as the troops continued on the field of battle, and a mutual suspension of arms took place about three days afterwards, for the purpose of enabling them to bury their dead. On the succeeding day the whole posts of the Austrian army were attacked by General Scherer, who succeeded in driving General Kaim from his position before Verona, threw bridges over the Adige, and sent the division of General Serrurier to the left side, who drove the Austrian rear-guard half a league beyond Verona. As this attack would have reduced Verona and Legnago to an insulated situation, General Kray resolved to defeat it, and was completely successful: the Republicans lost 7,000 men, which determined Scherer, on the 1st of April, to draw off the left wing of his army from the Lake of Garda, having first strongly garrisoned Peschiera and collected his forces between the Adige and the Tartaro, a position not purely defensive, since it menaced the passage of the Adige between Verona and Porto Legnago, and also protected Mantua. The Republican right wing was encamped before Porto Legnago, the rest of the army occupying

the camp of Magnan, and the general's head quarters were at Isola della Scala. In the meantime the Austrian army crossed the Adige, took possession of Castelnova, masked Peschiera, and pushed on the left of the French army; thus advancing upon Mantua with a rapidity equal to its retreat before Buonaparté during the former campaign.

To prevent his left flank being turned, Scherer resolved to attack the Austrians on the 5th of April, in every direction, with three columns. The divisions of Victor and Grenier were ordered to take St. Giacomo below Verona, and the van-guard, under general Delmas, was directed to march to Dosso Buono, to cover the attacks of the centre columns under Moreau, and Serrurier was appointed to the attack of Villa Franca. General Kray, on the contrary, made preparations to prevent Serrurier from passing the Adige, as he had reason to apprehend that this was his object, from an intercepted order, of which he gained possession; he, therefore, bent his march against the French with a similar mode of attack, and formed three strong columns, under Mercandin, Kaim, and Zoph. A general engagement ensued, which was fought with desperate valour, and lasted a considerable time. Moreau penetrated the centre of the Austrians and fought under the very walls of Verona, every point being obstinately disputed. Villa Franca was often taken and retaken in the course of the day, but yielded to the valour of the troops commanded by Serrurier. The left column of the Austrians, under General Zoph, afterwards flanked and defeated the right of the Republicans, which rendered the conquest decisive. The night was spent by both parties on the field of battle, now covered with the

bodies of the slain, and next day General Scherer retreated towards Roverbello. The blockade of Peschiera was the consequence, and the Austrians made the best use of the advantages they had acquired.

Since the French were forced to abandon the idea of a junction between the armies of Italy and Switzerland by the way of Bormio, in the Grisons, it became an interesting object with the Austrians to penetrate into the valley of the Oglio, by which movement they would have it in their power to flank the position of the French army, and compel it to adopt defensive measures between the Oglio and the Adda, to protect the Milanese: but these operations were unavailing so long as General Scherer could act on the Adige in an offensive manner. The whole of the French posts, from Bormio in the Grisons, to the Lakes of Idro and Garda, on the 8th of April, were attacked, and forced to retreat to Brescia,

Such were the positions of the French and Austrian armies in the Northern parts of Italy when the first columns of the Russian troops made their appearance; and the farce of negociation being now no longer necessary, Count Metternich, the Austrian plenipotentiary, on the same day, gave notice to the Congress that the war had broken out again, and that, by an imperial decree, the minister of the Empire was recalled. The French ministers exclaimed against this decree, protesting that they would repair to Strasburg, and there wait a renewal of the negotiations, and receive whatever overtures of peace might be presented to them. The Grand Chancellor wrote to Colonel Barbaczy, the military commander, ordering a safe escort for the French plenipotentiaries; at a

late hour in the evening he wrote the ambassadors, that they must quit the territory in twenty-four hours, as the circumstances of the war forced him to the adoption of such a measure. The persons of ambassadors have ever been deemed sacred by the most uncultivated nations, if ever the principle be abandoned all communication between state and state will be at an end, and the world will return to its ancient barbarism: yet there is some reason to suppose that the combined powers dishonourably deserted the principle at this time, for before the French ministers quitted Rastadt 400 hussars entered the town, took possession of its gates, and permitted no person to go out or come in.

The French plenipotentiaries got into their carriages about eight o'clock in the evening, but they were denied a passage through the gates, and did not succeed in departing till they sent a requisition to the commandant of the place, who dwelt at the extremity of the town. At last they succeeded in procuring permission, and were escorted by two hussars, who afterwards left them, and returned to town! Before they had gone five hundred paces from the town a troop of hussars, both cavalry and infantry, sallied forth upon them from a wood near the side of the road, and began to execute the horrid orders of their superiors. The plenipotentiary, Jean Debry, was in the first carriage, with his wife and children, and, little suspecting to find cannibals in Germany, he held out his passport to the Russians who surrounded his carriage; but this was not the object of their inquiry: he was dragged out, and fell, covered with the desperate gashes he received from sabres on different parts of his body: supposing him to be

dead, they began to plunder the carriage, while he crawled, unperceived, into a ditch. The secretary and valet-de-chambre were in the second carriage, who received no other injury than a few blows, on informing them that they were servants; their carriage was also plundered. The ambassador, Bonnier, rode by himself, who gave an affirmative answer when asked if he was such a minister; and he was instantly dragged out and murdered in the most inhuman manner, his head, legs, and arms being cut off! The secretary, Rosensteil, having discovered the tragical scenes acting before him, leaped out of the chariot into a ditch, and escaped; in his carriage the murderers found a portmanteau full of papers, which they scattered upon the ground, but speedily collected them again with the greatest care. The ambassador Roberjot was in the fifth carriage, together with his wife, whom the monsters found it difficult to drag out, as she forcibly clasped him in her arms; but, at last, they cut his head in two with a sabre.

The carriages with the ladies and servants returned to Raftadt, and the secretary, Rosensteil, reached the town about eleven o'clock at night, by a number of by-ways. The ambassador, Jean Debry, had crawled into a wood, and bound up his wounds in the best manner he could, the coldness of the night contributing to congeal his blood: he ventured to come out, at the dawn of day, and got, unperceived, into the town. There can be no doubt but that the perpetrators of this infernal transaction were hired, since they offered no violence to any but the ambassadors. The French Directory unequivocally charged it on the cabinet of Vienna; but the Allies, with equal zeal, charged it on the Directory, who, it is said, were as-

fraid that the ambassadors should return to Paris and expose the intrigues by which the executive power had prevented the peace from being concluded. Both sides contributed to involve the matter in perplexity, for neither took the necessary steps to prove its innocence: yet we cannot help thinking that it was the Allies who were guilty.



CHAPTER V.

Sieyes elected a Director, instead of Rewbell.—The French still retreat in Italy, and are beaten by General Bellegarde, and also on the Rhine, by General Naundorff.—Suvwarow forms a Junction with the Austrians at Verona.—Scherer resigns, and is succeeded by Moreau.—Suvwarow engages and defeats the French on the Adda.—He encamps at Cassano.—The French again defeated, and General Serrurier, and all his Troops, taken.—The Allies take Possession of Milan.—Bellegarde defeated in the Lower Engadin.—The People of the Grisons rise on the French.—Massena attacks the Cantons of Schwitz.—The French evacuate the Grisons, and retreat in all Directions.

PERHAPS there never was a period in which the human heart palpitated so sensibly in expectation of great events as the present. From the highest pinnacle of glory France beheld herself falling as rapidly as she had risen, and from the abyss of destruction Austria was recovering her fame. The victories and the talents of Buonaparté seemed now to constitute the only strength of the Republic, and the idea served to depress the French in the same degree that it encouraged their enemies. The odium poured upon the Directory became at last greatly diminished by the election of the Albe Sieyes into that body, in the room of Rewbell, the most hated of all the members; and the folly of the French had reduced it so nearly to a level with those of the Allies, that the contending armies entered upon the contest upon

more equal terms than they had ever done before. Generals Lecourbe and Desolles abandoned their positions in the Tyrol, Laudohn and Bellegarde collected forces in the Wintschgau, and both the Inn and the Adige were evidently about to change their masters.

An offensive war in this quarter could not be carried on by the French, since Massena had given up his attacks on Feldkirch: in consequence of this, General Lecourbe, on the 25th of March, burnt the bridge of Fustermuntz, in the Grisons, across the Inn, and withdrew into the Lower Engadin, a situation farther up the river. General Desolles fell back upon Munster, entrenching himself in the defiles that enter the Tyrol from the Grisons on the West, where he was attacked by Bellegarde, and obliged to retreat to Zernetz, having experienced, in the Lower Engadin, a considerable loss. After another severe defeat by the same general, he was forced to retreat into the Upper Engadin, a mountainous and inhospitable country.

Upon the Rhine the Archduke menaced the left of Massena's army, under General Ernou, who occupied the defiles of Kintzg, which induced General Massena to retreat by the bridge of Kehl, and fix his head quarters at Basil. He had possession of the Rheinthal, and the strong post of Rheineck at the upper end of the Lake of Constance, making entrenchments in its vicinity; and he retained the possession of Schaffhausen till the posts on the left side should be fortified; Basil was defended by a strong garrison. It is not known, with certainty, whether a scarcity of provisions in Swabia and Switzerland, or the infant state of the operations in Italy influenced the Archduke, yet he kept back the Austrian army,

making only a few trifling movements near the Lake of Constance and in the Brisgau, till he invested Schaffhausen on the 13th of April. General Nauendorf entered the place sword in hand; the Republicans retreating across the Rhine burnt the bridge when they left the town.

In Italy, as the French found it impracticable to maintain their position near Mantua, they continued to retreat, and crossed the Chiusa at Asola. The Austrians were enabled to blockade this place; and Klenau, going up the river Po with his armed boats, made himself master of the posts which supplied the garrison, at the same time cutting off the communication between it and Ferrara. Thirty-two boats, with 200 pieces of artillery, destined to form batteries on the banks of the Po, and an equipage of pontoons, fell into the hands of General Klenau at Lagooscuro. The right wing of the Austrian army penetrated beyond the Lake of Garda; in consequence, the fleet of armed boats belonging to the French had been forced to take shelter under the cannon of Peschiera, by the armed boats of the enemy from Riva; and Peschiera was besieged, being abandoned to its own resources. Bellegarde sent General Vukassowich from the Tyrol, to effect a junction with the right wing of the Imperial army, who forced his way into the province of Brescia; but his intended attack was deferred, on account of reinforcements being sent to it by Lecourbe from the Valteline.

In the mean time the right wing of the French army retreated by the Oglio, and the left beyond the Chiusa. General Kray passed the Mincio with the main body of his army, and was joined by Melas, the officer appointed to command the army, but who left

it in the hands of Kray, till the arrival of Suwarrow, who reached Verona on the 13th of April, with the van-guard of the Russian army, and formed a junction with that of the Austrians, the chief command of which was conferred upon him. The French army now fell back behind the Adda, and evacuated Cremona, leaving a rear guard on the left bank of the Adda, between the forementioned place, and Pizzighitone. On the 17th of April, the head quarters of the Republican army were at Lodi, memorable by the victory of Buonaparté in a former campaign. At this time General Scherer, overwhelmed with confusion and disgrace, followed the fate of his patron Rewbell, and abandoned a station to which he should never have been raised ; but not before he had ruined the army of Italy in the capacity of commander in chief, being succeeded by that great man General Moreau, when the army was reduced to one half of its original number.

It would have been madness in Moreau to contend with numbers so prodigiously superior, and his only hope of safety depended on his flight. The Russians and Austrians had now formed a junction, and all the places on the frontiers of the Cisalpine Republic were unavoidably left to their own resources, and a wish to capitulate was denied to Peschiera. A sally made from the garrison of Mantua, had been vigorously repulsed, while the castle of Ferrara persevered in its resolution to resist, and the garrison of Brescia surrendered as prisoners of war. The right of the French army was obliged to pass the Adda, and the Austrian advanced guard proceeded within sight of Lodi, when the head quarters of the French were removed to Milan : they were





General Thomas.

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strongly entrenched on the Adda, and demolished all the bridges. As Moreau was pressed by superior numbers, who were flushed with victory, he made every effort to procure reinforcements. The Munsterthal had been evacuated by General Desolles, and an officer was detached from Massena's army to effect a landing with the right wing of General Moreau. The division in possession of Tuscany was ordered to support the left, and Moreau patiently waited for such reinforcements as could be spared from the South of France, by the way of Piedmont.

The Republicans in covering their right wing by Mantua were incapable of re-establishing their left, or of keeping the most formidable line of defence against troops nearly upon a par with their own, and, of consequence, their only advantage depended on the chances of a decisive conflict. Could they have confided in sufficient reinforcements from France and Switzerland to retain the field of battle before the two Imperial armies, it was only at the foot of the Alps and Appenines they could secure those benefits of situation which would have counteracted the effects of superior numbers.

Moreau being forced to retreat towards the Milanese, the situation of General Macdonald, at Naples, was thus rendered extremely critical; for, as Mantua and Ferrara were blockaded, the communication with Genoa was, of consequence, intercepted, the posts on the Po, either deserted or captured by the enemy, and the roads by the Duchy of Parma and Tuscany, which had been violently seized by the French, rendered extremely hazardous. The Republican army was greatly reduced by the sanguinary conflict on the Adige, and farther diminished by

throwing garrisons into a number of small posts, not one of which was qualified to impede the march of the Imperial armies for a single day. As the French army continued to dwindle away, for the reasons assigned, joined to the rapidity of its retreat, the Imperialists gained daily advantages from the arrival of the Russians, the arming the Italians, and the dispositions of the people.

Suwarrow, with a very superior force, turned the whole lines of the French posts on the right side of the Adda. Moreau had no expectation of being able to maintain himself in the Milanese, or of obtaining such reinforcements, as would qualify him to keep possession of it, yet he was aware of the danger of quitting too soon the upper part of Italy and the Lakes, which covered his right wing, as in that case he could have received no assistance from Switzerland; while, on the other hand, had he delayed too long approaching the coast of Genoa and the Appenines, he could not have derived any succours from Tuscany, much less from the forces in Naples. The Po was already crossed by the Imperial army, and Pizzighitone, on the Adda, was nearly invested by Kaim and Hohenzollern. Moreau entrenched himself on the Upper Adda, with a design to delude the enemy, as if he intended to engage the principal part of Suwarrów's troops, but, in fact, to render his retreat to Alexandria both easy and certain.

Suwarrow marched the allied army from the Oglio to the Adda, not understanding that the division under General Kray, employed in the sieges of Peschiera and Mantua, and the troops under Generals Kaim and Hohenzollern had taken the route to Pizzighitone and Placentia. When Suwarrow ar-

rived, on the 26th of April, he divided his army into three columns, the right, commanded by Rosenberg, filed off North-westward, towards the Lake of Como; the centre, under Ott and Zoph, marched to Vaprio, and the left encamped in the vicinity of Casfano; two battalions of grenadiers got possession of Lecco, while Vukassowich, in the mean time, bent his march towards Brivio, re-built the bridge which had been destroyed by the Republicans, and stationed himself on the other side of the Adda, having under his command two squadrons, four battalions, and four pieces of cannon; the centre division threw a bridge over the Adda at Trezzo, came upon the French by surprise, made them abandon their position, and continued the pursuit of them within a short way of Milan.

General Moreau, understanding that Vukassowich and Rosenberg had effected the passage of the river, instantly perceived the necessity of strengthening the left wing of his army; General Grenier was accordingly directed to march to Brivio, to co-operate with the troops of Serrurier, which had evacuated Trezzo. A desperate engagement ensued between the French and General Ott: for some time the victory was dubious; but, while General Victor meditated the surrounding of the Imperial troops to the right, or force them into the Adda, the division of General Zoph passed the bridge at Trezzo, and turned the scale in favour of the Allies. The village of Pozzo was captured; the French retired towards Vaprio, but were not able to retain it long, which deprived them of the hope of aid from General Serrurier, he having been separated from the divisions attempting to arrive to his assistance. The Austrian

and the Russian troops under Rosenberg and Vukassovich surrounded General Serrurier, and took him prisoner, with all his troops, after they had defended themselves with valour and intrepidity. The general did not yield the palm, till he had secured a return to France for all his officers, and an exchange of his soldiers for such of the allied army as might be made prisoners in the course of the day.

Melas marched directly against Cassano, forcing the entrenchments of the Retorto Canal, which he passed in defiance of the enemy's fire. He next stormed the head of the bridge on the Adda with such alacrity, that he preserved it from being destroyed, and, having crossed it with his whole forces, was stationed at Gorginzolo the same evening, the 27th of April. After sustaining a considerable loss, the French army retreated through Milan in the night, which was taken possession of by the allied army on the ensuing day, the advanced guard, under General Vukassovich, pushed on to Como, and a division of Russians marched through this place the same day. The metropolis of the Cisalpine Republic was, by these means, in possession of the Allied Powers, who appeared to be as welcome guests to the Milanese as their quondam masters; a proof of the tyranny and corruption which disgraced the Directory of France.

The persons who had exercised the government of the Cisalpine Republic, and were styled also a Directory, followed the French army: the Archduke Charles continued on the left side of the Rhine, and had not entered on any hostile movements in the beginning of May. Reinforcements had been received by Massena; and the army employed for the protection of Switzerland alone amounted to about 60,000, exclu-

five of the auxiliary troops furnished by that country. The Archduke purposely evaded hostilities till the success of the Italian army should render it safe for him to begin his attack on the country of the Grisons, for which undertaking General Hotze was selected, and to have the command of 20,000 men. This officer acted in concert with Bellegarde, stationed in the Upper Engadin, who persevered in assaulting the posts of General Lecourbe, and whose object was to establish a nearer communication with Hotze's left wing, to gain, by surprise, some passage on the high mountains, which divide the Inn from the Languard, and the Albula, flowing through the valley of the Grisons, and emptying themselves into the Rhine above and below Coire.

It is impossible to give a description of the difficulties of this country, which being combined with the inclemency of the season, and the operations of the French army under Lecourbe, rendered the attempts of Bellegarde totally abortive. A joint attack on the 1st of May met with similar success. Bellegarde was defeated, with great loss in the Lower Engadin, when a number of the Austrians were made prisoners, together with the Prince de Ligne; while Hotze experienced a serious repulse from Chabrand at Mayenfeld, on the Rhine, and lost great numbers of his troops, the regiment of the Prince of Orange being wholly cut off.

The first endeavour of Hotze to carry the fort of Luciensteig by assault, which may be considered as the key of the Grisons, appears to have originated from the advice of that people themselves; for 10,000 of them appeared suddenly in arms, surprising the French posts at Disentis and Ilantz with such intrepidity that the retreat of Lecourbe from the Upper Engadin

would have been inevitable, and the communication by St. Gothard entirely cut off had the Grisons and the Austrians understood each other; but there is great reason to believe, that the friendship of the Austrians for the Grisons was exactly like that of the French for the Irish; the Grisons fought *the freedom of their country*, the Austrians fought *to take it from the French*: they were so deficient of unity of design that they destroyed the exertions of each other, like the builders of Babel. About 6,000 peasants poured down upon the bridge of Rechenau, and made themselves masters of it, while Massena made preparations for strengthening his left wing, as he found it impracticable to divide the forces under the Archduke. He threw reinforcements into Luciensteig, and dispatched Menars to reduce the Swiss peasantry, who succeeded in forcing them to abandon the bridge of Rechenau, continuing the pursuit of them as far as Disentis; here he came up with the principal body, routed them, and killed 2,000.

CHAPTER VI.

Massena attempts, in vain, to draw the Archduke into an Ambuscade.—Luciensteig taken by the Austrians, and the French retreat across the Rhine.—Plans of Suwarroff.—Embarrassment of Moreau.—Peschiera and Pizzighitone, taken by the Austrians.—The Russians defeated by Moreau.—Suwarroff, notwithstanding, advances upon Turin.—Tortona besieged by the Allies.—Victory gained at Marengo by Moreau, who is, however, obliged to retire towards Genoa.—Turin taken.—Macdonald retreats from Naples.—Milan, Ferrara, and Ravenna, taken by the Allies, who advance upon the French in Switzerland.

DURING these transactions Massena attacked the Swiss belonging to the small cantons on the Lake at Schwitz, where he forced them to lay down their arms ; and at Altorf 4,000 men were either dispersed or cut to pieces. General Soult followed the remains of this patriotic army to the valley of Urseren, to prevent their gaining the pass of St. Gothard. As the Valteline was left exposed since the passage of the Adda, the gaining of Como, and the eastern side of the Lake, much more was necessary to defend the left wing of the French army in Switzerland, than the re-establishment of its interior communications. General L'Orison, with difficulty, made good his retreat by the way of Chavienna into the Grisons, being obliged to abandon part of his artillery, and, with the utmost rapidity, Lecourbe crossed from the Lower Engadin to Bellinzzone, thus enabled to protect the

pass of St. Gothard, by supporting his second line, and destroying the communication between the small cantons and the Swiss Italian baillages. Lecourbe took a position at Bellinzzone, while the head quarters of General Massena were removed from St. Gall to Zurich, performing a variety of manoeuvres with his left wing, calculated to delude the Archduke; but that General seems to have penetrated the design, as he adhered to his original intention of gaining the Grisons before attempting any thing of importance on the Rhine.

Fully bent on the execution of this plan, he sent strong reinforcements to Feldkirch. A new mode of attack was concerted between Hotze and Bellegarde, who had reached Lentz, in pursuing the Republicans during their retreat from the Upper Engadin, where the Austrian commanders were joined by a vast number of the Grisons in arms. The Swiss troops, collected by Steiger, and forming a junction with the Austrians under Hotze, were eager in their applications to form the van-guard of the column to act against Luciensteig, now rendered remarkably strong by the French. This fort was situated in a narrow defile, formed by awful rocks, whose summits to the Eastward embraced the steep heights inclosing the valley, half a league in length.

While preparing for another general attack, the Archduke, on the 9th of May, was informed of the arrival at Gallacia of a large Russian force, destined for the Rhine. General Tolstoy proceeded to the Archduke Charles's head quarters at Stockach, to receive his instructions respecting the destination of his troops, which were a part of 40,000 men subsidized by Great Britain, and wholly independent of

the army of Italy. The total amount of the Russians was estimated at 70,000 men, who had already arrived, or were on their way to join the armies of Austria. On the 12th, every advanced column under the Archduke's orders, began to push forward; General Nauendorf marching from Engen towards Schaffhausen on the Rhine, pretending by his manœuvres to meditate the passage of the Rhine, while General Massena was indefatigable in strengthening the entrenchments and fortifications in the vicinity of Basle, and reinforcing the division stationed between Lorach and Rheinfelden, by which means his left wing was powerfully strengthened.

General Hotze on the 14th of May came to an engagement, and succeeded in making himself master of the key to the Grisons, which had held out for two months, and occasioned, on both sides, an immense waste of blood and treasure. The first of his four columns was ordered to make a feigned attack on the North-east, at the upper extremity of the defile; the second was to secure the mountains above Mayenfeld on the West, and to render easy the attack on the front, by making a descent on the rear, as the signal for a serious attack. The destination of the third column was to free the Seeviser Alps, or Schiers Mountains, on the North, and North-east; and the last, in conjunction with the artillery and cavalry, was ordered to storm the passage on the East, by the Slapiner-Joch. The front column was headed by Hotze in person, and the other three by General Jellachich; and it was not till after twelve hours march, accompanied with excessive fatigue, that the Austrians arrived at the rear of the Republican entrench-

ments, the only point where it was possible for them to form a junction. The rear of these entrenchments was immediately attacked by Jellachich, Hotze forced the pass, and having marched to, and blown up the gate, in defiance of the Republican fire, he got possession of the fort commanded by General Humbert: the whole of the French 4th demi-brigade were made prisoners, amounting to 3,000 men.

Luciensteig no sooner fell into the hands of the enemy than the French began their retreat across the Rhine, which was conducted with good order, although precipitate. The right wing retreated towards Wallenstadt, the centre by the defiles of Vethis, and the left marched up the Rhine by Rechenau and Disentis: it was now an object of attention with Bellegarde to attempt cutting off the retreat of the French by the upper valley of the Rhine, by which he might have opened to himself the passes to the small cantons, and reached the country of the Grisons; but he found it impracticable to attain the valley of the Grisons, till the day after the capture of Luciensteig, and the evacuation of Coire and Rechenau by the rear-guard of the enemy's left column, of which places he took possession next day, the 16th of May, and made four companies prisoners. General Hotze, in the mean time, crossed the Rhine, and marched on to Wallenstadt by the way of Sargans, which last place had been burnt by the French. Bellegarde took the route of the Upper Rhine, pursuing that column of the Republican army which had retreated towards Disentis; so that the whole country of the Grisons, except the narrow valleys near the small cantons, might be said to have been abandoned by the French as early as the 17th of May; the posts

on the other side of Switzerland being in the hands of the Allies.

To concentrate his forces was no longer a matter of choice with General Massena, but of necessity. The line employed for the exterior defence of Switzerland, extending from the Lake of Constance to the Rhætian Alps, and consisting of a small number of important posts, of about sixty leagues, was everywhere destroyed. The Rheinthal, Appenzel, the country of St. Gall and Turgovia, notwithstanding they were the most completely sheltered, and admirably flanked, were obliged to give way to superior forces.

The success attending the movements of the combined army in Italy facilitated the progress of the Archduke Charles. The forces of Suwarrow were so superior to those with which he had to contend that he found it an easy matter to detach different corps from the main body of his army to take possession of the vallies in succession, and thus check the Republican troops in the passes and defiles of Switzerland, which were to be considered as held by the French under a precarious tenure on account of that spirit of disaffection which the people discovered: this spirit had been, in some measure, allayed by the exertions of General Soult, who had reached St. Gothard to co-operate with Lecourbe; but, although it was crushed, it was far from extinguished.

As Suwarrow had reached the very heart of Lombardy in less time than he could reasonably have expected, after crossing the Adda and making himself master of Milan, he sent a vast number of his troops on four different expeditions. He determined.—First, To prosecute still farther his operations against Moreau

on the West and in front of him, that he might compel the French commander to hasten his retreat, and evacuate Piedmont and Genoa before he could obtain reinforcements.—Secondly, To penetrate the valleys above the lakes, on the North and on his right, which would enable the Archduke more easily to pass with his left wing beyond St. Gothard.—Thirdly, In a North-eastern direction, and behind him, on the South-east, General Kray laid siege to Mantua with 25,000 men, while Ferrara and Bologna, still farther to the South-eastward, were blockaded by Klenau; the vigorous defence of which places was favourable to the retreat of the troops from Naples and Rome towards Tuscany, commanded by General Macdonald.—Fourthly, Towards the South, and on his left, he sent General Ott, with a division, to assist Klenau to check the progress of General Macdonald, to gain the passes of the Appenines on the North-west, or Upper Tuscany, and cut off all communication with that country and the Ligurian Republic on its North-west.

To frustrate this plan now became the principal object of the French commander; for if Genoa had fallen into the hands of the Allies Macdonald would have been cut off, and the English and Neapolitan forces might, themselves, have annihilated his army. General Moreau, therefore, began his retreat by dividing his army into three columns, after he crossed the Adda and evacuated Milan; the right took its route from Lodi towards Placentia; the centre marched, by the way of Milan, towards Genoa, upon Pavia and Voghera, and the left by Vigevano and Novarra! while the main body of the army in the South-east, continued its retreat upon the Ligurian

republic, General Moreau proceeded South-westward to Turin, where he made preparations for evacuating it. Unable to defend the plains of Piedmont with an army reduced to 25,000 men, and at the same time to retain the country of Genoa to the Southward, Moreau left Turin on the 7th of May, and changed his head-quarters to Alexandria: he retained Suwarrow as long as possible on the left side of the Po in order to favour the retreat of General Macdonald, for the accomplishment of which he took his station under Tortona, and made his advanced posts extend on his right toward the Appenines.

Suwarrow reached Pavia, and sent a vanguard, under the command of Vukassovich, to reduce Novarra and such other places as the Republicans had abandoned, with instructions to march up the Po as far as Turin, and thus turn the attention of General Moreau to his rear, by flanking his left wing. In the meantime General Hohenzollern proceeded towards Piacenza, or Placentia, with a part of the left wing of the combined army, and, marching up the right side of the Po, drove back the Republican vanguard beyond Voghera. To assist this movement, and gain the passes into the territories of Genoa by the way of the Appenines, Suwarrow took a station at Bobbio, on the road which leads from Placentia to Genoa.

As soon as Kray made himself master of Peschiera he proceeded to Borgoforte, and collected the whole of his troops around Mantua, the garrison of which made frequent sorties, often terminating in serious conflicts. Latterman began the siege of Milan on the 5th of May, the trenches before Pizzhigione having been opened the same day by General Kaim, which, after an obstinate resistance of four days, was

obliged to surrender. This circumstance has been attributed to the blowing up of a powder magazine, which produced the immediate capitulation of the garrison, amounting to 600 men. By these various movements the monstrous army of Suwarrow was very much diminished; yet, if his knowledge had been equal to the skill of Moreau in military tactics, he might not only have succeeded in exterminating the whole of the Republicans in Italy, but penetrated into the Southern frontiers of France, and, perhaps, been able to have restored that country to its ancient rulers: but the singular abilities of Moreau rendered both impossible.

The Russian general endeavoured to dislodge the French commander from his entrenched camp behind the Po, between Valenza and Alexandria. On the 9th of May General Chasteler attacked Tortona, and succeeded in blowing up the gates, in defiance of the fire from the castle, into which the French had retreated. On the 10th of May the principal part of the combined army passed the Scrivia and encamped at Torre Garafolo; General Karaczay was sent with a division against Novi, Serravalle, and Gavi. General Moreau's right wing had Alexandria in flank of it, his left wing was covered by Valenza, and he had, in the meantime, thrown strong detachments into Verrua and Casale. He comprehended the designs of Suwarrow, who threatened his right wing and the communication it kept up with Genoa, with no other design than to surprise a passage across the Po to his left, and then come to a general engagement with the Republican army.

Had Moreau, in this critical situation, lost a battle it would have been almost impossible for him to effect

a retreat on either side of the Appenines. The attack meditated by Suwarrow on the left wing of his army was put in execution on the 11th, by a vanguard of the Austrian troops, who had experienced a warm reception on their crossing the Po above Valenza; but on the ensuing day hostilities wore a more serious aspect, when 7,000 Russians, under General Schubarf, crossed the river below Valenza, not far from the place where the Po and Tanaro unite their streams, marching directly to Pecetto, between Tortona and Alexandria, with a view to penetrate the line of Moreau's army. General Grenier's division sustained the first furious shock of the Russian troops, at which instant Moreau attacked them in flank by the division of General Victor, and the conquest became decisive: great numbers of the Russians were either slain or perished in the Po, among whom was their commander, General Schubarf.

After the ill success of this second endeavour, Suwarrow determined to proceed to Turin with the greater part of his army, along the left bank of the Po, to compel Moreau to abandon his camp, and either retreat to the Ligurian Republic or fall back on the frontiers of France: to accomplish either of these objects, Vukassovich, on the 16th, attacked Casale Verrua and Ponte Stura, while General Melas received orders to pass to the opposite of the Po, and take his route towards Candia. It is not certain whether Moreau received intelligence of these manœuvres, or perceived movements in the Russian camp at Torre Garafolo, where a small force only should have been retained, indicative of something against which he was determined to guard; but during the night he threw a bridge across the Bormida, and

passed it in the morning with 7,000 men, commanding the cavalry in person : in his first attack he broke the chain of advanced posts of the cossacs at Marengo, pursuing them in their retreat as far as Santo Julianò, and afterwards sent, by his left, a detachment to force the advanced posts of Melas and march against the camp of Toree Garafolo, commanded by General Lusignan, whom he compelled to abandon his position, and kept him for some time separate from a body of seven Russian battalions ; however, the French general was, at length, obliged to repass the Bormio river to Alexandria. This desperate effort was the last made by Moreau to retain his position. The head-quarters of Suwarrow were now at Lumello, and he determined to lose no time in attacking the posts of the Republicans on the left side of the Po above Valenza. Casale was attacked and carried by Vukassovich ; and Moreau, finding himself no longer able to keep possession of his entrenched camp, was obliged to abandon Valenza and Alexandria, having provided the latter place with a garrison, and he made good his retreat to Coni on the 22d of May, by the way of Asti and Chierasco. To open a communication with Genoa and that part of the coast, which the armed peasantry had interrupted, he sent a body of troops on his right to take possession of Mondovì and Ceva. No position could have been more advantageously taken in his circumstances, or displayed greater knowledge of the military art, as by this means he could receive reinforcements from the Southern departments of France by the way of Finale, Oneglia, and other small seaports on the Mediterranean coast. By the combination of such manœuvres Moreau saved the remains

of Scherer's army, and afforded time for Macdonald to arrive at the frontiers of the Ligurian republic, formerly Genoa, as well as enabled Perignon to block up the passes on the side of the mountains, to increase his means of defence, and take possession of such advanced posts as were calculated to facilitate the junction of the armies. On the other hand, Suwarrow's positions were not the result of the same profound knowledge: stationed on either side of the Po, below where the Bormida and the Tanaro form a junction of their streams, he found it impracticable to surround the French army in the camp of Alexandria. On the evacuation of this place, and which he himself afterwards occupied, he blockaded the citadel with the troops of general Schweikofsky; a division under Seckendorf had taken the route to Aquì, and the whole centre of the combined army, under Melas, proceeded to Candia, situated North of the Po. These marches against Turin, on either side of the Po, were impeded for some days by heavy rains; and, on the 26th, Melas effected the passage of the Sesia, continuing his route to the Stura. The troops under Karaczay crossed these rivers, posting themselves in front of the Chaitreuse. Vukassovich proceeded along the right side of the Po, taking a station on the heights of the Capuchins; and the city of Turin being thus invested, was summoned to surrender, which the French commander answered with a brisk cannonade, and the bombardment commenced on the 27th.

It was particularly unfortunate for the French, that, shortly after the firing began, a house near the gate of the Po was set on fire by a bomb, the disorder

it occasioned was turned to the advantage of the Allies by the armed inhabitants, who immediately opened the gate. The garrison, amounting to about 3,000 men, fled into the citadel, the division of Kaim made itself master of the town, Prince Bagration took possession of the suburbs, and Frolich and Zoph formed a camp of observation on the South-west end, leading to Pignerol. From the commencement of hostilities on the Adige till Suwarrow came within sight of the frontiers of France, no more than ten weeks had elapsed! a circumstance which would have covered him with glory, if the gross mismanagement of the French government did not operate as a considerable drawback upon the wisdom of its enemies. Moreau had continued another masterly retreat with a handful of men, but Suwarrow had a considerable army in his rear, against which he found it necessary to watch. When the news reached General Macdonald that the troops of France had retreated from before Mantua, he instantly evacuated the kingdom of Naples, ordering a camp to be formed at Caserta and Madaloni, and created a numerous national guard of the Neapolitans, who seemed extremely willing to defend themselves against the attacks of the combined powers: he provisioned Fort St. Elmo, Capua, and Gaeta, as if the regular siege of those places had been unavoidable. He left the camp of Caserta on the 9th of May and proceeded to Florence, by the way of Rome; the first division, under General Olivier, found the inhabitants of the country in a state of rebellion while it traversed St. Germano and Isola; two villages were carried by assault, and all their misguided inhabitants perished in the conflict! Such of the Neapolitans as were democratic could not

behold the retreat of the French without dismay, and the same sentiments were evinced by the Romans, for the defence of whom Macdonald left a garrison, with orders that they should retreat into the fort of St. Angelo, if attacked by superior numbers.

The commanders of the Republican troops in Tuscany, Generals Gauthier and Miolis, made preparations for the reception of the army of Naples, and formed a camp of observation between Florence and Bologna, blocking up all the passes of the Appenines. Suwarrow's situation was now such as would have rendered it imprudent to advance, since the junction of Moreau and Macdonald might have enabled them to have cut off his retreat, with a very small reinforcement, from the side of Monte Blanc. The rapidity with which Macdonald marched, the boldness of the corps in Tuscany, and the movements of General Moreau, conspired to render Suwarrow's retreat even prudent.

Deeply sensible of this, General Suwarrow pushed on his sieges, by which he was prevented from acting in the field with the principal part of his army. He sent Hohenzollern, with a reinforcement of six battalions, to the siege of Milan; but decisive operations were prevented, from his being obliged to send succours to the Prince of Rohan, who was to act against superior forces, between the lakes of Como and Lugano, at the entrance into the Italian Bailiwics, where he found Lecourbe more than a match for him, although he was assisted by such of the inhabitants as discovered a spirit of insurrection. The Republicans were under the necessity of retreating from Lugano to Bellinzona by Mount Cenere, and attempting to

gain Switzerland by the Leventina valley, through which the Tifino flows from St Gothard; upon which the Imperial forces were recalled, and the trenches opened, on the 23d of May, against the citadel of Milan, the commander of which signed a capitulation, and procured for his troops, amounting to 2,200 men, a free passage and the honours of war; but with a proviso, that they should not take up arms against the Allied Powers for the space of one year. About the same time the citadel of Ferrara was forced to capitulate, and 1,500 men, of which it consisted, obtained terms from General Klenau similar to those granted to Milan. Ravenna surrendered to the Allies a few days after; and Ancona capitulated to the combined fleets of Turkey and Russia. General Kray persevered in the siege of Mantua, who, having defeated the conductors of a brisk sally, on the 19th of May, received orders to withdraw his troops, leaving behind him only those he might deem sufficient to carry on the siege; and these were soon reinforced by other divisions, with which, and those of Ott and Hohenzollern, he was to form a new army, to be commanded by himself. His first object was to compel the French to abandon Bologna, which was defended with bravery, the Bolognese giving the French a vigorous support: to the Republicans that was the place of the greatest importance beyond the Appennines, as its situation intersected the roads, and obstructed the march of the combined powers towards Tuscany, and protected the retreat of the army of Naples.

Such was the relative situation of the armies of Italy in the beginning of June. The progress of the

Archduke in Switzerland was equally interesting and as much contested; and, if we attend to the nature of the country, it was more difficult than that of Suwarrow. Rapidly pursued by Hotze and Bellegarde, we have seen the French columns retreat from the country of the Grisons. The corps which took the route of the valley of the lower Rhine, by the way of Ilantz, under the command of General Sutchet, arrived at Urseren on the 10th of May, where General Lecourbe repassed St. Gothard, from Bellinzona, and made a nearer approach to the army of General Massena.

At the moment when the van-guard of general Nauendorf passed the Rhine at Schaffhausen, on the 22d, in conjunction with the main body of the Archduke's army, Hotze likewise effected the passage of that river with his division. The Rheinthal was now evacuated by the Republicans under General de Lorge, and after Hotze had gained the post of Werderberg, forced his way into the Toggenburg, by the Thur river. While the troops which had crossed at Rheineck were marching to St. Gall, the column which kept the course of the Thur attempted to reach Turgovia by a forced march. The design of Hotze was to join the van-guard of General Nauendorf, posted at Aldersingen, to facilitate the passage, and establish the remaining part of the army; as it was the wish of the Archduke to collect the whole of his forces before he hazarded a general engagement.

General Massena marched, on the 25th day of May, against the van-guard of General Nauendorf, to prevent a junction, and frustrate a meditated

attack, by the allied army, on his lines, on the Limmit river. General Nauendorf's van-guard was already beyond the left side of the Thur; and he was also determined to oppose the van-guard of General Hotze, surprising it between Fravenfeld and Winterthur while prosecuting its route.



CHAPTER VII.

Various Battles between the Archduke and Massena.—Plan to separate the Armies of Moreau, Massena, and Macdonald.—General Macdonald, unexpectedly, attacks and beats part of the Allied Troops.—Medena taken and plundered by his Troops.—He takes Parma and Placentia.—Suvwarrow obliged to hasten, for the Purpose of opposing his Progress.—Dreadful Battle.—The Junction of Moreau and Macdonald prevented.—Shocking Effect of the Campaign.

THESE arrangements, demonstrative of an equal degree of skill and enterprise on both sides, led to a very sanguinary affair, in which the Republicans defeated the hussars that defended the posts of Nanendorf, and succeeded in the re-capture of the bridge of Andelfingen over the Thur, but were, at last, obliged to abandon it. The battle raged with double fury on the side of Frauenfeld, and different regiments were surrounded, both cavalry and infantry, on their way from Constance to Zurich. As the infantry of the Austrians were much fatigued, having marched during the whole of the preceding day, their loss was considerable, and the regiment of the Gemmingen was nearly annihilated.

The Prince of Rosenberg, who commanded the Kinsky dragoons, exerted all his endeavours to support the infantry, as the ground they occupied was extremely disadvantageous. The battle continued from nine in the morning till five in the evening, during which time the Austrians suffered severely ;

but, on the arrival of a corps de reserve, they were finally victorious, and the French were repulsed. In defiance of this opposition the Archduke accomplished the object he had in view, transferring his head quarters to Paradies, and, next day, retook the whole of the posts he had lost on the left side of the Thur. To effect a junction he proceeded to Winterthur on the 27th of May, and Hotze, having forced the Republicans back to the mountain on the road to Zurich, called the Stiegpafs, advanced to attack them in front.

Bellegarde took every advantage of his situation on the side of the mountains ; having obtained reinforcements after the capture of Mount St. Gothard, the inhabitants of the small cantons again appearing in arms against the French. He got possession of the canton of Glaris ; and so serious were the apprehensions entertained of him at Lucerne, that the members of the Helvetic government, deeming themselves in danger, removed their sittings to Berne : he likewise sent a number of troops to Schwitz, but found the reception he met with from General Lecourbe too warm for him to withstand, this officer having taken a very formidable position at Wafen, the chief lines of defence in Switzerland, was flanked on the right, and the Austrians were in possession of the highest grounds.

Massena, perceiving that the Archduke was resolved to press upon him, after uniting with Hotze, stationed himself behind the Glatt on the 28th of May ; but, being annoyed on his left wing, he was obliged to unite his forces in his entrenched camp at Zurich. The Archduke, perceiving this, dispatched a body of troops against the Glatt, before

Baslendorf and Kloten, and pushed forward the advanced guard under General Nauendorf to the heights of Regespurg, within sight of Baden. For some days after, a number of skirmishes took place between the advanced posts of the hostile armies, when Lecourbe defeated the Imperialists, and, after an obstinate and bloody conflict, carried an important post on the 2d of June, retaining his position at Wafen, supporting in this manner the right of the new line of defence, the camp of Zurich being situated at its centre and front.

The contending armies being thus situated the Archduke passed the Glatt on the 4th of June, making Kloten his head quarters, and marching forward his advanced posts within gun-shot of the Republican entrenchments, threatening the right wing of the French army, and in complete possession of all the heights. Having reconnoitred the situation of the French, rendered formidable both by nature and art, the Archduke made an attack on the villages in the weakest parts of the Republican line, which were defended with determined bravery, and alternately in possession of the Austrians and French. Prince Charles next day attacked the enemy's entrenchments with his entire force, which they obstinately defended during fourteen hours: the attack was against the whole line at once, and few actions were ever more desperately fought or occasioned greater carnage. Hotze, Wallis, Kerpen and Hiller, all generals, were wounded on the side of Austria, as was Humbert and Oudinot on the side of the Republicans, and Cherin, chief of the French staff, was killed. The Archduke had commanded a second attack to be made upon it, but Massena abandoned Zu-

rich during the night, and took a position on Mount Albis, his left wing having the Rhine in flank and his right the Lake of Zug: after this Prince Charles fixed his head quarters at Zurich.

The plan of the Archduke and Suwarrow was, to cut off the communication between the two French armies of Italy and Switzerland, in the same manner as they designed to separate those of Moreau and Macdonald, and open a communication between the Imperial armies in the speediest manner, after making a conquest of Piedmont, the Milanese country, and the Northern parts of Italy. With zeal and perseverance they both detached troops, the one from his right wing in Italy, and the other from his left in Switzerland, to assist Bellegarde in the repeated attacks he made upon the French, in order to drive them from the Rhoetian Alps to St. Gothard, an undertaking extremely difficult, from the determined opposition he met with from the Republican generals, Lecourbe, De Solles, and Loison.

About this period Moreau found himself too feeble to maintain a defensive line between St. Gothard and the sea, to meet all the attacks made against him, and, consequently, he was obliged to abandon this support to his left wing, as well as his communication with Massena: after obtaining from Switzerland the reinforcements which it was possible to expect from a commander in Massena's situation, he fell back to cover the Ligurian republic, and to preserve the barrier of the Appenines, in order to furnish Macdonald with the means of retreating. General Suwarrow taking possession, with his main army, of the interval which Moreau was compelled to relinquish, kept up a constant war of posts in the passes of Switzerland,

and resolved on the subjugation of Piedmont by the entire capture of Turin. Moreau's wishes were gratified by these movements, a circumstance which the Russian general did not comprehend. Such a want of knowledge did Suwarrow discover in manœuvring his army, that he found it impracticable either to surround Moreau, to force him to abandon the Apennines, or collect forces capable of acting on the offensive in Upper Tuscany, as the French were receiving continual reinforcements from the vanguard of Macdonald.

Situated as he was, the camp of Moreau at Coni was almost fifty leagues from the advanced posts of Macdonald on the frontiers of Tuscany, while he drew as near as possible to the frontiers of France, to facilitate the arrival of the trifling reinforcements he expected by the Col-de-Tende. He sent a division from this place, under General Victor, to join the army of Naples by the Ligurian republic, to enable Macdonald to adopt offensive measures, and reach the country of Liguria by opening the passes of the frontiers. The Republicans recaptured Mondovi, and blockaded Ceva; but General Vukassovich rescued these two places, being at that time master of Carmagnole and Alba, as also of Cherasco. By the manœuvres of Moreau at Coni he diverted the attention of the allied army as much as possible, and drew off the principal part of its forces.

When Suwarrow made himself master of Turin, he marched the greater part of his army in divisions into the vallies of Susa, Morienne, Aosta, and Lucerne, where the Vaudois appeared in arms in favour of the Republicans, threatening to force a

passage across the Alps, and turn the last line of defence in Switzerland by the department of Mount Blanc. The situation of Moreau's army on the flanks of Suwarrow's, and a Republican army in his rear, made it impossible for him to make any farther advances: he expected that he would be able to keep Moreau in front of him, by which he concluded that he would more easily prevent the junction of the two armies than by giving up the pursuit. In this he was mistaken, and it was here that the Allies committed the most fatal error of the campaign, for they would have succeeded much better in their object had Suwarrow taken a position on the heights of Genoa, and driven Moreau into that fortress.

Suwarrow having disposed of a portion of his troops, as formerly mentioned, marched in person to attack General Moreau, who, having left a strong garrison at Coni, retreated to Col-de-Tende on the 7th of June. The division of Xantrailles was appointed by Massena for the purpose of reinforcing the left wing of General Moreau's army; having reduced the insurgents to submission, Massena posted himself in the Upper Vallais, but he conceived it dangerous to risk a descent into Italy. The blockades of Tortona, Alexandria, and the citadel of Turin, were, in the meantime, carried on with the most determined vigour and perseverance.

The Archduke having gained possession of St. Gothard, and apprehending no danger to his left wing, sent General Bellegarde, with the principal part of his division, to reinforce the army of Italy; the remainder, under the orders of General Had-dick, were stationed at Domo d'Ossola, either to march into Switzerland, or assist the army of Italy,



General Tarrarow.

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as circumstances might require. Bellegarde, at the head of eighteen battalions, and 3,500 horse, took the route to Tortona, and marched through Milan on the 6th of June. The forces of General Macdonald might amount to 40,000 men, who was at this time in the neighbourhood of Florence, as we formerly mentioned, including the reinforcements under General Victor: it could not possibly exceed this number, when we consider that he left garrisons at Fort St. Elmo, Capua, Gaeta, Rome, Civita-Vecchia, Ancona, and different other places, in order to cover his retreat.

As soon as Macdonald arrived in Tuscany, his first care was to rid all the passes of the Appenines. The important one of Pontremoli was in the hands of General Ott, which place is on the extreme frontier of Tuscany with the Ligurian republic. Kray was stationed at Castellaro, from whence he superintended the siege of Mantua, and was extremely active in the reduction of Bologna, where the Republicans had succeeded so completely in covering the retreat of the army of Naples. The Austrians took Forli and Cervia, and surprised the French at Fort Lugo, between Ravenna and Bologna, having gained possession of Cesena and Rimini, whilst carrying on the blockade of Fort Urbino: but notwithstanding the reinforcements of General Kray, the divisions of Ott and Hohenzollern were still too feeble to make their entrance into Tuscany, and commence offensive operations.

It was the first object of General Macdonald to strengthen his right wing under the command of Montrieux, who, having detached the brigade of Ge-

neral Clauzel to occupy Bologna, engaged and repulsed Klenau, and succeeded in raising the siege of Fort Urbino. The legion of Poland, under Dombrowsky, in the service of France, was dispatched against Sarzana and Pontremoli, and ordered to recapture this last place from the Imperialists at any price. Macdonald, being joined by General Rusca's division, which he had left at Florence, fixed his head-quarters at Lucca, and found it afterwards an easy matter to communicate with Genoa, make himself acquainted with the positions and strength of the allied armies, and concert a plan of subsequent operations with General Moreau: he was in a more favourable situation than his hopes presaged, and expected to act offensively even beyond the Appenines, and open such a scene of operations as would at once be new and wholly unexpected.

General Moreau at first took a position at the Col-de-Tende, with an army reduced to 15,000 men, after losing the detachment of General Victor, who had been sent to reinforce Macdonald, but he received an addition to his force by the way of Nice, which he sent on to Genoa by Oneglia, and entered the Ligurian republic, his left flank being covered by the Appenine Mountains, the whole passes of which were in his possession. He wished in all his movements to deceive the enemy, by inducing them to infer that his object was to collect reinforcements from every quarter. A report, made by General Melas, who was appointed to watch his manœuvres, is a convincing proof that the Allies believed he had no other intention: he employed his penetrating judgment in augmenting his forces to appearance far beyond their real number, and wished to draw upon

him the attention of Suwarrow. He spread a false report of having received 15,000 additional troops by the way of Toulon; this fabrication was rapidly circulated, and the public prints were full of circumstances respecting it which had never any existence. Before its forgery was detected General Moreau reached Genoa, at the head of 18,000 men, and reinforced himself with the whole of the French and Ligurian troops under General Perignan: he also animated with courage the Republican party, by a manifesto, and prepared to second the movements which had been agreed upon between him and General Macdonald: their plan was daring and complicated, comprehending the raising of the siege of Mantua, compelling General Kray to fall back on the Adige, freeing the citadels of Alexandria and Tortona, uniting the two armies, and marching against Suwarrow with a superior force. Macdonald, with the main body of his army, quitted the camp of St. Pellegrino on the 8th of June, and proceeded to Modena. Dombrowsky and Victor, whose divisions formed the left wing, marched, the one from Sapello, or Pelago, and the other took the route to Reggio from Pontremoli. The troops commanded by Rusca and Montrichard, being the right wing, marched to Castelfranco from Bologna, having received instructions to turn Modena, and to effect the passage of the Panara between that city and the Po. The vanguard of the centre division, commanded by General Olivier, came up with the first posts of Hohenzollern on the 10th of June, making it fall back within two miles of Modena, and the next day a battle ensued between the cavalry of the hostile armies; the Austrians were, at first, routed, but were, at length,

assisted by the regiment of Preiss, which charged the Republicans at the point of the bayonet and repulsed them.

General Macdonald, on the 12th, made another attack, which was of a very sanguinary nature, as cavalry and infantry were blended together in one common ruin: the commander in chief was wounded and General Forest killed on the spot, when the Austrians were obliged to give up Modena, which was taken and plundered. The French being masters of the posts on the left side of the Secchia, Hohenzollern was, in consequence, cut off from Reggio: the regiment of Preiss, which formed the rear guard, was nearly annihilated, although it had been frequently surrounded, and often forced its way through the French troops. Kray having brought off the artillery with which he carried on the siege of Mantua, demolished the bridge of Casale Maggiore, and every other bridge on the Po, taking a station on the left side of the river, with 10,000 men, and some thousands of armed peasantry, to prevent the passing of the river and protect the siege of Mantua. It cannot be certainly known what prevented General Macdonald from executing the plan ascribed to him as its author, of raising the siege of Mantua; whether it was owing to the uncommon swell in the river Po, or whether he had already done all he intended, by forcing the enemy to cross it, he marched against Reggio with his whole army, entering Parma on the 14th and Placentia on the ensuing day, where he assembled his army on the 16th, and commenced his attack on the citadel.

Macdonald's vanguard obliged General Ott to retreat, at the head of no more than 8,000 men, but in

expectation of receiving reinforcements from General Melas, this officer having been made acquainted with the intentions of Moreau marched against Alexandria on the 10th of June, at which time Bellegarde also appeared, with the division under his command. General Suwarrow was pressing the siege of the citadel of Turin with the utmost dispatch, when he received information from General Kray, of the successes which had attended the march of Macdonald; and this determined him to leave Kaim to carry on the blockade, and march forward in person with all the forces he could collect. Vukassovich, at the head of a vanguard, was ordered to annoy the rear of General Moreau's army, and send a corps to Ormea, on the road leading from Ceva to Oneglia. It may be affirmed that almost the whole of the combined forces were now collected between Tortona and Placentia, and nearly in the same position they occupied about six weeks prior to this period, ostensibly for the accomplishment of the same object, to hinder the junction of Macdonald's army with that of Moreau. If such was the intention of the Allies, it must be confessed that time to them was uncommonly precious, since it is more than probable that a single hour would have turned the scale in favour of the Republicans.

General Macdonald formed a junction with Victor on the 27th of June, and set out from Placentia towards St. Giovanni, twelve miles West of the former, and five West of the river Tidone, behind which General Ott retreated, to whose assistance Melas came up with his vanguard at the commencement of the action. General Macdonald used every effort

to draw off the left wing of the Imperial army by the operations of his right, and thus gain the road to Pavia on the Po, that he might be enabled to surround the centre of General Melas, who had assumed the command, and cut off the communication with the forces in his rear. The Austrians repulsed this first attack, and Ott and Frolich maintained their positions till Suwarrow made his appearance with a very strong advanced guard of Russian troops: the battle became general, and raged till night with inexpressible fury, when the Republicans retired to their stations between the Tidone and Trebia rivers.

On the 18th General Suwarrow collected all his forces and made preparations for a decisive engagement; similar preparations were made on the part of General Macdonald, who arranged his army in order of battle on the left, or West side, of the Trebia. The Allied Army consisted of four different columns; the left, on the side of the Po, being ordered to march to Ponte-di-Mora, by the way of Caledano; the second took the road on the right, or South, of Placentia, and the third marched towards Vaccari (these columns consisted wholly of Russian troops;) the fourth was destined to act against Rippalta and San Giorgio, to turn the left wing of the French army, and consisted of the divisions of Ott and Frolich. The attack was put off till five in the evening, to give the troops some time to rest, and it commenced with a dreadful shock on the whole front of the two armies, when the Republicans were again defeated, after a desperate resistance and the shedding of much blood upon both sides. General Macdonald withdrew behind the right side of the Trebia, and did not retreat to Placentia, as he determined to make another at-

tempt against the forces of Suwarrow, whose infantry were overwhelmed with fatigue.

While they imagined that Macdonald was retreating as fast as possible, he attacked them on the 19th, with the most desperate valour, repulsing every advanced post on the Trebia, sending one of his columns to the other side of the Po, and another across the Trebia, with a view to turn the right flank of Suwarrow's army. General Melas, at the head of the Austrian cavalry, sustained the first shock of the Republicans, when the carnage became unspeakably horrible, the whole country from St. Giovanni to Placentia, a distance of about twelve miles, being covered with the dead, and the Trebia literally choaked up with dead carcases. The Polish legion, under general Dombrowsky, was surrounded by the Russians, when they formed themselves into a square battalion, and fought with the most determined bravery, but were at length almost wholly cut off. Suwarrow received a compliment on this victory, as they were pleased to term it; to which the veteran Russian is said to have returned for answer, "Victory! another such, and we are ruined!" Many such victories have we heard of, unaccompanied by Suwarrow's honesty, to view them in the light of defeats.

During the night which succeeded this third day of carnage, Macdonald again entered Placentia, which he left the ensuing day, and was obliged to abandon 3,000 wounded men to the mercy of the enemy, among whom were four generals, Rusca, Olivier, Salm, and Chambran. The commander in chief was likewise wounded, who, nevertheless, was enabled to retreat in good order, dividing his army

into two columns, one of them taking the route to Parma, and the other on the declivity of the mountains on the South-east. His intention seemed to be to march towards Modena, and return to his camp at Pistoia, while, in fact, he was meditating an entrance into the Ligurian republic, to effect a junction with general Moreau; for which purpose he posted himself at Fornovo, marched through the valley of Taro, and took the road leading directly to Sesta. In his route to Placentia he had defeated the divisions of Ott, Klenau, and Hohenzollern; but these generals, having again rallied their forces, were destined to pursue him.

In dividing his troops by isolated operations general Suwarrow had certainly committed an egregious blunder; but he in a great measure compensated for this by the rapidity of his marches and the capture of St. Giovanni, although he had allowed Macdonald to finish almost one of those singular and difficult retreats which often distinguished French generals during this war, and which impartial posterity will not fail to admire. We must at the same time give Suwarrow credit for his military conduct upon this occasion; since, had his operations been less active, or his march less rapid, the possibility did not exist of preventing a junction between Macdonald and Moreau, which would have deprived the Russian general of the very chance of victory. While he conflicted with the army of Macdonald on the Trebia, General Moreau left Genoa with an army of 25,000 men, and took the route to Tortona by the way of Bocchetta, Gavi, and Novi. The Austrian troops, under the command of general Bellegarde, were forced, by the French, to abandon their

positions at St. Julian, Cassini, Grando, or Groffa, and Spinetta, and compelled to retreat across the Bormida in the utmost precipitation.

One of the advantages that Moreau gained by this victory was the raising the siege of Tortona. After the battle of St. Giovanni, Suwarrow continued to pursue Macdonald beyond Placentia, in the expectation of overtaking him on the Taro, and surrounding him before he crossed the mountains, after collecting the scattered troops of Klenau and Hohenzollern; but, receiving intelligence of the victory obtained by general Moreau over Bellegarde, he gave up the pursuit of Macdonald's army, entrusting it to general Ott, and, with the principal part of his army, proceeded to meet general Moreau, and intercept his progress. During this march Suwarrow was informed of the surrender of the citadel of Turin, against which three hundred pieces of artillery were planted, on the 18th of June, for the purpose of destroying it, which were fired against it with such incessant and unremitting fury, that the cannonading of the citadel was silenced in the space of two days; when a number of officers of artillery and cannoneers were found to have perished, and several magazines destroyed. Fiorella, the commandant, requested a capitulation, which he obtained on terms analogous to those formerly granted to the garrisons of Milan and Ferrara.

This unexpected event was of singular advantage to the interest of the Allies, as it liberated General Kaim, whose forces began their march to join the grand army. Although the Republican generals had not as yet received their expected reinforcements from France, such were the effects produced by their

superior knowledge and activity, that Suwarrow was obliged to rally his whole forces with the utmost expedition. The Russian auxiliaries, under Vukafovich, were ordered to approach nearer to the main army; and, being reinforced by General Haddick, Suwarrow found himself at the head of 60,000 men. As the forces of Moreau did not exceed one-third of that number, after another conflict with Kaim and Bellegarde, on the 25th of June, he found it necessary to fall back on Genoa. About the latter end of June the whole of Italy might be said to be in the hands of the Combined Powers, and nearly one-half of the Helvetic republic; after which a suspension of hostilities took place, that appeared of an involuntary nature on both sides, as they mutually waited for reinforcements, to enable them to begin afresh what has been emphatically denominated their *labours of death*.

In the space of four months more men perished than was ever before known in the history of modern bloodshed. If we take a part as a specimen of the whole, we shall be enabled to state that in the Voralberg, at the attack of Feldkirch, before they attacked the Grisons and the mountains of the Tyrol, there perished no less than 22,500 men.

On the Danube, 13,000

On the passage of the Rhine by
the Austrians, and the capture
of Zurich 13,500

In Italy - 64,000

113,000

It will be found, upon a moderate calculation, if the sick be included, that of 370,000 men, which

the belligerent powers brought into the field of battle, they lost fully one-half of them in the space of four months. Such a dreadful, and almost unexampled, carnage, presents us with no very favourable picture of human nature, and proves, that man, unrestrained by reason, has all the barbarous and ferocious propensities of the lion and the tyger.



CHAPTER VIII.

Buonaparté's Campaigns in Egypt continued.—The Strength of his Army and its Disposition.—El Arish besieged and taken by Buonaparté.—The Army enters Gaza.—Jaffa taken and the Garrison put to the Sword.—Caiffa evacuated.—Buonaparté advances towards St. John D'Acre.

THOSE who have admired the enterprising spirit of Alexander, the retreat of the ten thousand under Xenophon, and the fortitude of Charles the Twelfth, will not regard the valorous struggles of the Republican generals wholly unworthy of praise. Massena, Moreau, Macdonald, and Buonaparté, were all placed in situations, where the slightest omission in either would have led to the inevitable destruction of his army: how the three former acquitted themselves we have just seen; and the suspension of their operations will permit us to return to the latter, whom we left preparing for the expedition to Syria, and who, it should be observed, was ignorant of the state of affairs in Europe, owing to the rigour with which the English blockaded the mouths of the Nile, and prevented any intelligence passing either in or out of Egypt. Buonaparté assigned a considerable reinforcement, under Davoust, to General Desaix, who had proceeded into upper Egypt, with orders to drive the Mamelukes beyond the cataracts of the Nile, and then ordered the departure of his own army. This force consisted of the divisions of General Kleber, who had under his command Generals Verdier and Junot, a part of two demi-brigades of light infantry

and of the 25th and 75th of the line; of the division of General Regnier, who had under his orders General Legrange, with the 9th and the 85th demi-brigade of the line; of the division of General Lasne, who had under his direction Generals Vaux, Robin, and Rambeau, with a party of the 22d demi-brigade of light infantry and of the 13th and 69th of the line; of the division of General Bon, under whose orders were placed Rampon and Vial, with a part of the 4th demi-brigade of light infantry, and of the 18th and 22d demi-brigades of the line; of the division of General Murat, with 900 cavalry, accompanied by four light 4-pounders. The artillery was commanded by General Daumartin and the engineers by General Caffarelli; the park of artillery consisted of four 12-pounders, three 8-pounders, five howitzers, and three 5-inch mortars; there were, besides, attached to each division two 3-pounders, two 6-inch howitzers, and two 3-pounders. To the guide parties, cavalry and infantry, were allotted four 3-pounders and two 6-inch howitzers. The different corps constituted an army of about 10,000 men.

The 19th demi-brigade, the 3d battalions of the demi-brigades on the Syrian expedition, the marine legion, the depots of the cavalry corps, and the Maltese legion, were partly stationed at Alexandria, Damietta, and Cairo, as garrisons, or formed into moveable columns, to retain the provinces of Lower Egypt in obedience, and to protect them against the Arabs. The commands in the other provinces were entrusted to Generals Beillard, Lannusse, Zayoncheck, Fugiers, Le Clerc, and the adjutant-general Almeyrac. Citizen Poussielgue, chief financial administrator, re-

maintained at Cairo; the paymaster-general of the army, Estire, accompanied the expedition. The command at Alexandria was one of very great importance, it could not properly be trusted but to an officer, who, to a thorough knowledge of artillery, added that of engineering and of military science in general; that fortrefs, on account of the distance of Buonaparté, was almost independent of him, in a military and administrative point of view; added to these considerations, the English were in the neighbourhood, and symptoms of the plague were beginning to appear: at length the general of brigade, Marmont, a young officer of family and fortune, who married, a short time before the expedition, the daughter of M. Peregaux, an eminent banker at Paris, received that important command.

Buonaparté ordered the adjutant general Almeyrac, to whom the command of Damietta was entrusted, to expedite the fortifications of that place, and to transport without delay the stores and provisions across the Lake Menzale to the port of Tineth, whence they were to be forwarded to the magazines at Cathieh, a march of about five hours. Some pieces of battering cannon were necessary for the reduction of Acre, in case of resistance; to bring them by the way of the Desart was impracticable; they were ordered to be put on board a squadron of four frigates, under the command of Perree, which lay at anchor in the road of Alexandria, and conveyed by sea, in defiance of the English cruisers: this was a hazardous project, but nothing more would be lost by the fleet being taken to England now, than if it lay in port till the enemy might capture it there.

Buonaparté ordered the admiral to cruise off Jassa,

and to keep up a communication with the army; he calculated upon their arrival within a given time. The utmost diligence was used at Cairo in collecting the necessary number of camels and mules for conveying the field artillery, the stores, ammunition, &c. necessary for the passage of an army through the Desert.

General Kleber was ordered to embark with his division at Damietta, the French being then complete masters of the navigation of Lake Menzale, and to proceed across the lake to Tineth, and from thence to march to Cathieh, where he was expected to arrive on the 4th of February. General Regnier quitted Belbeis, with his *état-major*, on the 23d of January and arrived at Cathieh on the 4th of February, where he joined his advanced guard; the 6th he marched for El-Arish, which, together with the fort, was occupied by about 2,000 troops of the Pacha of Acre: General Legrange, with two pieces of cannon, formed the advanced guard of General Regnier's division. On the 8th of February, when approaching the Fountains of Messondiat, he perceived a party of Mamelukes, but these were soon dispersed. He arrived in the evening at a grove of palm trees, near the sea and fronting El-Arish; the next day he advanced rapidly, and took possession of some sand-hills, which command El-Arish, on these heights he took a position and planted his artillery. The operations were speedily commenced; General Regnier caused the charge to be beat, when the advanced guard advanced rapidly on the right and left of the village, which was attacked by Regnier himself in front. Notwithstanding the advantageous position of the enemy, in a village situated in the form of an amphitheatre, in which

are a few houses built with stone and covered by the fort; notwithstanding a most obstinate resistance and a galling fire, the village was carried by the bayonet. the enemy retired into the fort, and barricadoed the doors with so much precipitation, as to exclude about 300 men, who were either killed or taken prisoners. General Regnier, on the same evening, blockaded the fort of El-Arish; soon after a corps of cavalry and infantry were discovered on the route from Gaza, which were escorting a convoy of provisions for El-Arish; this reinforcement continually increased till the 13th of February, when the Mamelukes, emboldened by the superiority of their cavalry, advanced, and pitched their tents within half a league of El-Arish, on a plain covered by a very steep ravine, where they considered themselves safe from attack.

In the meantime General Kleber arrived with part of his division. In the night between the 14th and 15th of February, a party of General Regnier's division turned the ravine which covered the encampment of the Mamelukes, rushed into the camp, killed a great many, took a considerable number of camels, horses, and prisoners, beside great quantities of provisions and warlike stores, together with the field equipages of the Mamelukes. On the second day after this affair Buonaparté appeared before El-Arish.

The General in Chief received an express from Alexandria, informing him, that the English squadron, recently reinforced, had bombarded that city and port; he immediately judged that this manœuvre was only intended to divert him from his proposed expedition to Syria, the incipient operations of which had already alarmed the English and the Pacha of Acre. He, therefore, quietly suffered the former to

continue their bombardment, which produced little effect; on the 9th of February he proceeded from Cairo, with his *état-major*, and on the 17th of February he arrived at El-Arish, where he was joined, at the same time, by the divisions of Generals Bon and Lasne and the corps of artillery.

General Regnier had previously directed a slight cannonade against the fort, and commenced his approaches; but not being furnished with a sufficient quantity of ammunition to batter it in breach, he summoned the commander of the fort and rendered the blockade closer; he had also advanced a mine under one of the towers, but this had been counter-worked by the enemy. On the 18th of February the army took a position before El-Arish, on the sand-hills between the village and the sea: Buonaparté ordered one of the towers of the fort to be cannonaded, and, as soon as a breach was effected, the place was summoned to surrender. The garrison consisted of Arnauts, Maugrabins, &c. all barbarians, destitute of regular chiefs, and ignorant of the principles or usages of war as carried on between civilized nations. The besieged continued, alternately, to fire and parley; at length, on the 20th of February, the garrison, consisting of 1,600 men, surrendered, and laid down their arms, on the sole condition of their being allowed to retire to Bagdad across the Desert: a number of the Maugrabins entered into the French service. In the fort were only found about 250 horses, two dismounted pieces of artillery, and provisions for a few days. Buonaparté sent to Cairo the standards taken and the Mameluke prisoners.

General Kleber set out with his division and the

cavalry from El-Arish towards Kan-jounefs, a frontier village of Palestine, near the Defart. On the 23d the head-quarters were removed from El-Arish and destined for Kan-jounefs; the General in Chief, the staff, &c. arrived upon the heights near that place without receiving any intelligence of General Kleber's division. Buonaparté dispatched some of his escort to the village; no French troops had arrived there: some Mamelukes, who were in the place, fled to the camp of Abdallah Pacha, which was then at the distance of about a league, on the route to Gaza. Buonaparté having only a picquet for his escort, and convinced that Kleber's division must have been misled, fell back towards Santon, three leagues from Kan-jounefs, in the Defart. He there found the advanced guard of the cavalry; the guides, it appeared, had led General Kleber astray in the Defart; but he stopped some Arabs, and compelled them to point out the right road, from which he had been misled nearly a day's march. His division arrived on the 24th, at eight o'clock in the morning, after a distressing march of forty-eight hours, during which he was without water! The divisions of Generals Bon and Lasne, who had followed the same route, were also led astray for some time: these three divisions, which, according to orders, should have arrived and moved on successively, thus arriving at Santon nearly at the same time, the wells were soon exhausted. With a laborious perseverance, the soldiers, who were tormented by a burning thirst, sunk wells in various places, but could only obtain a very partial and inadequate supply of water. The division of General Regnier was ordered to remain at El-Arish, for the purpose of putting the fort, which is the key of Egypt

on the side of Syria, into a respectable state of defence, after the prisoners of war had evacuated it, and also to wait until the field artillery should advance. This division was to form the rear-guard of the army at an interval of two days march.

About a league in front of the village of Kan-jounefs are several columns of granite, and fragments of marble spars, which, at first sight, were imagined to be the remains of an ancient monument; but, as the wells of Reffat lie at the distance of a few toises, are very neatly built, and afford abundance of good water, it is more probable that these ruins are the remains of a caravanfera, at which the caravans were accustomed to halt, in order to take in water for their journey across the Defart which separates Syria from Egypt. The army had traversed sixty leagues of an arid and barren desert; for the habitations at Cathieh and El-Arish are chiefly clay huts, with a few palm trees near the wells; its entrance, therefore, into the plains of Gaza, and the prospect of the mountains of Syria was highly gratifying. At the approach of the army, Abdallah, who was encamped with his infantry, and the Mameluke corps, within a league of Kan-jounefs, had quitted that station, and fell back towards Gaza.

On the 25th of February, the army marched from Kan-jounefs towards Gaza; about two leagues from that town a body of the Mameluke's cavalry was perceived upon the heights. Bonaparté immediately formed each of the divisions into a square; that of General Kleber formed the left, and was ordered to march against Gaza, on the right of the enemy; the division of General Bon occupied the centre,

and advanced towards its front; the right was formed of the division of General Lasne, which marched towards the heights, and turned the positions which Abdallah occupied. General Murat, with the cavalry, and six pieces of cannon, marched in front of the infantry, and prepared to charge the enemy. At his approach, the cavalry of Abdallah made several irregular movements, and their confusion was manifest; at one time they suddenly advanced and seemed willing to charge; they, however, immediately made a retrograde movement. General Murat pushed forward, but failed in bringing the enemy to action; a party of their riflemen, however, were intercepted by General Kleber's division, by whom 21 were killed.

The army advanced about a league beyond Gaza, having established head quarters in the town. The fort is of a circular form, about forty toises in diameter, and flanked with towers. It contained 16,000 lbs. of powder, a great quantity of cartridges, and other warlike stores, together with several pieces of cannon. In the town were also found about 100,000 rations of biscuits, some rice, a number of tents, and a great quantity of barley. The inhabitants having sent deputies to meet the French, were treated as friends. The army remained the 26th and 27th in this quarter. Buonaparté employed himself, during that interval in organizing a system of civil and military government for the town and district; he formed a divan, consisting of the principal Turkish inhabitants of the place. On the 28th the army advanced towards Jaffa, where the Mamelukes and Turks were collecting their forces. The escorts of provi-

sions and ammunition, forwarded from the magazines at Catheili, were at this time several days march in the rear of the army; but the stores which had been abandoned at Gaza, enabled the army to advance.

The Defart, which lies between Gaza and Jaffa, is an immense plain, on which are numerous moving sand-hills, that render the march of cavalry a work of great difficulty. The camels advanced slowly, and with pain; and the army was obliged, in the space of about three leagues, to change the artillery horses three times. On the 1st of March the army rested at Ezdoud, and the 2d at Ramieh, a town inhabited for the greater part by Christians; a quantity of biscuit was found there, which the enemy had not time to remove, and nearly as much was found at the village of Lidda. The hordes of Arabs, who hovered about these villages, for purposes of plunder, took flight on the approach of the French; the advanced guard, which consisted of General Kleber's division, arrived before Jaffa: the enemy, on his approach, retired into the body of the place. The other divisions, and the cavalry arrived soon after. General Kleber's division, and the cavalry were ordered to occupy a position on the river Lahoya, about two leagues on the route to Acre, for the purpose of covering the siege of Jaffa. The town was invested by the divisions of Generals Bon and Lasne

Jaffa is surrounded by a wall, but destitute of a fosse; it is flanked by towers, in good condition, on which cannon were mounted. Towards the sea are erected two forts, which command the port and road. The point of attack fixed on, was to the

South of the town, against the highest and strongest part of the works. In the night between the 4th and 5th the trenches were opened, a battery in breach was constructed, and two counter batteries, against the square tower, the most commanding part of the whole front of attack. A battery was also erected to the North of the place, in order to effect a diversion. The whole of the 5th and 6th were employed in advancing and completing the works. The Mamelukes made two sorties, but were driven back with considerable loss.

On the 6th, at day-break, the cannonade commenced, and at four o'clock the breach made was deemed practicable. An assault was ordered. The besieged, at different times, made great efforts; but, a breach being effected, and the division of General Lasne drove them from roof to roof, and from street to street; and, in a short time, gained possession of two forts. The division of General Bon, which had been engaged in making false attacks, now entered the town near the port. The garrison continued to defend themselves desperately, and, refusing to lay down their arms, were put to the sword; it consisted of about 12,000 Turkish gunners, about 2,500 Mamelukes or Arnauts. Three hundred Egyptians, who had surrendered, were sent to Egypt. The loss of the French army was considerable.

When the French became masters of the town and forts, the command of the place was given to General Robin, who succeeded in extinguishing those disorders which naturally follow an assault, especially when obstinately resisted. The inhabitants were protected, as far as it suited the purposes of the con-

querors: they returned to their respective habitations, and on the 7th order was restored. In the place was found, the field train sent to Dgezzar Pacha, by the Grand Seignior, which consisted of 40 pieces of artillery, cannon, or large howitzers; and 21 guns, brass or iron. In the port were 15 small trading vessels. Buonaparté gave the necessary orders for putting the town and port in a proper state of defence; and also for establishing an hospital and magazines. He constituted a divan, consisting of the most distinguished Turks of the place; and sent orders to the Admiral, Perree, to sail immediately from Alexandria, with the three frigates, and to repair to Jaffa. This port was intended to be the depot of every article that should be received from Alexandria and Damietta. As the place was rather exposed to descents and incursions. Buonaparté entrusted the command to the Adjutant General Gressier, an officer distinguished by his talents and bravery; but he soon died there, of the plague.

On the 15th of March General Kleber was encamped at Misky, in front of the position which he had taken for the purpose of covering the siege of Jaffa. The divisions of Generals Bon and Lasne, as well as the head quarters, removed from Jaffa and joined the advanced guard at Misky; the army marching onward to Zeta, the advanced guard observed a corps of cavalry. Abdallah Pacha, it appeared, had taken a position, with 2,000 cavalry, on the heights of Korsum, having on his left a body of about 10,000 Turks, who occupied a more elevated situation. The object of the Pacha was to check the progress of the army, and,

by taking a position on its flank, to force it to an action among the mountains and defiles of Naplouz, for the purpose of retarding its march to Acre. The divisions of Generals Bon and Kleber were immediately formed in squares, and advanced against the cavalry, who fled from the contest. General Lasne's division was ordered to march towards the right of Abdallah's force, for the purpose of intercepting its communication with the rest, and compelling him to retreat at once either to Acre or Damascus. This division, borne away by its ardour, pursued the Pacha into the heart of the mountains and defiles, and attacked the Naplouzin force with such vigour as to put it entirely to flight; the light infantry pursued with alacrity so far in front as to oblige the general to send them repeated orders to desist from a pursuit attended with no advantage; they, at length, obeyed, and the Naplouzians, regarding this retrograde movement as a retreat, pursued, in their turn, the light infantry; being acquainted with the defiles and advantageous situations among the mountains, they fired upon the French with great effect. The division endeavoured in vain to draw the Naplouzians from the mountains.

On the 15th the French lay all night under arms, near the tower of Zeta. The 16th of March the division of General Kleber advanced to Caiffa, which was abandoned on his approach; about 20,000 rations of biscuit, and an equal quantity of rice, was found in the place. Caiffa is surrounded by strong walls, flanked by towers, a castle defends the road and port; a tower, built with embrasures and embattled, commands the town at the distance of 150 toises, but the whole is overlooked

by the heights of Mount Carmel. The Mamelukes when they evacuated it, carried off the artillery, and all the military stores. The French left a garrison in the castle, and on the 17th proceeded towards St. John d'Acre. The roads were in very bad condition, and the weather foggy, so that it was very late when they arrived at the entrance of the river which runs at the distance of 1,500 toises from the place, through marshy grounds. The passage was dangerous to attempt during the night, as the cavalry and infantry, on the opposite bank, appeared in great force. General Andreossy was, notwithstanding, dispatched to examine the fords; he passed with the 2d battalion of the 4th light infantry, and took possession, at night fall, of an eminence overlooking an entrenched camp. Bessiere, *chef de brigade*, with a party of the guides, and two pieces of artillery, took a position between the works, and the river of Acre.

During the night a bridge was constructed, over which the army passed the river at day break, on the 18th. Buonaparté immediately led the army to an eminence which commanded St. John d'Acre, at the distance of a 1,000 toises. Parties of the Turks still kept their ground without the place, in the gardens with which it is surrounded; but they were so briskly attacked, that they soon retired within the works.

CHAPTER IX.

Buonaparté takes a Position before St. John d'Acre.—Sir Sydney Smith arrives in the Port with an English Force.—The French open the Trenches.—Contradictory Accounts of Sir Sydney Smith and General Berthier relative to the Capture of the French Artillery.—Progress of the Siege.—Tyre taken by the French.—Engagements at Nazareth.—Battle of Mount Tabor.

THE English had appointed that enterprising naval commander, Sir W. Sydney Smith, minister to the Porte, and he had arrived at Constantinople early in January. The plan of the Syrian campaign had been concerted between that officer and the Turkish Government, and the British forces were ready to co-operate with the Pacha of Acre at the time that Buonaparté reached that place. The English force was, comparatively, small, but it served to encourage the troops of the Pacha; and it was now that the French General first experienced an opposition that the combined energies of his power and talents were incapable of surmounting. The Republicans were not aware that any naval preparation had been made, and they took up their ground so near to the water-side, that Sir Sydney, who had witnessed their approach by the foot of Mount Carmel, saluted them by a galling fire from his boats, which obliged them to retire with precipitation.

The French took a position on an insulated eminence, commanding to the East a plain, about a league and three quarters in length, terminated by the mountains that lie between Acre and the river Jordan.

The provisions found in the magazines at Caiffa, and in the villages of Cheif-Amrs and Nazareth, were made use of for the subsistence of the army: the mills at Tanoux and Kerdanne were employed in grinding the corn; the army had eaten no bread since they left Cairo.

Buonaparté, in order to keep open the route to Damascus, garrisoned the castles of Saffet, Nazareth, and Cheif Amrs. Generals Dommartin and Caffarelli reconnoitered the fortrefs, and it was determined to attack the front of the salient angle to the Eastward: Samson, chief-de-brigade of the engineers, was wounded by a ball in the hand while reconnoitring the counterscarp. On the 20th the trenches were opened, and advantage was taken of the garden enclosures, the fosse of the old town, and an aqueduct that crossed the glacis, in their formation. A blockade was established to repulse sorties with advantage, and to intercept all communication: the French laboured incessantly at the erection of batteries *en breche* and cross batteries; but they received no intelligence of the battering cannon, that had been shipped at Alexandria.

A curious variation in the accounts given of the commencement of these operations, by the French and English commanders, gives rise to a train of reflections, by no means calculated to increase confidence in the statements of naval and military men. Sir Sydney says, That, as the French fired upon his boats with musketry, he judged that they had no cannon with them, and, of course, that they were to be expected by sea; he, therefore, detached a part of his squadron to Jaffa to look out for them, and was fortunate enough to reach that place; as they hove in.

fight. It was in vain that this flotilla endeavoured to escape: seven vessels, containing all the ammunition, platforms, and battering train of artillery, were captured; and only three small vessels got away, which contained Buonaparte's private property: those prizes were manned and employed in raking the coast and distressing the enemy by land. This advantage, so important in its consequences, was achieved with very little loss, and was doubly mischievous to Buonaparté, as he was not immediately acquainted with it; and, while he continued in expectation of his train, a sufficient force arrived to render the whole project abortive. Of this circumstance General Berthier, who writes an account of the siege, gives a very different relation:

“The commander of the English squadron,” says he, “being informed that a great quantity of stores and provisions were collected at Caiffa, formed the design of seizing them, and, at the same time, capturing several vessels, that had recently arrived there from Jaffa, with provisions for the army. The command at Caiffa was, provisionally, intrusted to Lambert, *chef-d’escadron*, a distinguished officer. On the 22d a smart cannonade was heard in the camp before Acre, in the direction at Caiffa: we were soon informed, that several English sloops of war, armed with 32-pound carronades, had attacked Caiffa, and attempted to seize the transport vessels that lay in the port; that the *chef-d’escadron*, Lambert, had given orders to suffer the English to approach very near to land without any shew of opposition; but, that he had concealed a howitzer, and placed in ambuscade sixty men, who composed his garrison; and, that, at the very moment the enemy were on the point of

landing, he fell upon them, at the head of his brave men, boarded and took possession of one of their sloops, and also a 32-pounder, and made 17 prisoners: finally, that the fire from his howitzer was directed against the other sloops with so much success, that they, shortly, took to flight, having more than 100 men killed or wounded. The English commodore, thus repulsed, abandoned his design against Caiffa, and, soon after, came to an anchor before Acre."

These kind of misstatements, we fear, are too common: and, if we accept the narrative of Sir Sidney, as more entitled to credit in this instance, it is, because the French officers have sported with their reputation so much, in their details of this expedition, that they have forfeited all claim to belief!

The siege commenced on the 26th of March: the Turks made a sortie, but were repulsed with loss; the batteries in breach and the cross batteries were completed. On the 28th field-pieces only were used to batter the tower in the line of attack. About three in the evening a breach was made; at the same time a mine, which was pushed under the counterscarp, was sprung, which did little execution. The breach was deemed as practicable as that of Jaffa; but the French grenadiers had not advanced far when their course was arrested by a fosse, 15 feet deep, connected with a good counterscarp. The fire from the place was terrible: the adjutants-general, Escale and Lagnier, were killed. An impulse of terror, for a moment, unaccountably, affected a number of the Turks; they fled towards the port, but soon rallied and returned to the breach, which the French grenadiers in vain attempted to mount, its height being

near 10 feet above the rubbish. This circumstance afforded the Pacha time to rally his forces and to ascend to the parapet of the tower, whence they showered down stones, grenades, and combustible materials, upon the assailants. A platoon of French grenadiers, who arrived near the foot of the breach, were unable to advance and obliged to return to the trenches.

The taking of Jaffa inspired the French army with a degree of confidence that induced them to regard the works at Acre as of little importance; they seemed to consider as an ordinary field operation, a siege which required all the resources of the military art; the more so, as they were destitute of the artillery and the ammunition necessary for the attack of a place surrounded by a wall, flanked by strong towers, and environed by a fosse, with a scarp and counterscarp. The besieged, elated at the effect of their resistance, made, on the 30th, a spirited sortie, but were repulsed, and forced to retire within their walls.

On the 1st of April a frigate anchored in the road of Caiffa. The *chef-d'escadron*, Lambert, knew the flag to be Turkish; he prevented his men from appearing: the frigate, ignorant that Caiffa was in the hands of the French, sent her longboat on shore, with the officer second in command, and 20 men; they landed with composure, but Lambert surrounded them with his soldiers and made them prisoners.

The British ships had been driven from Acre by a storm, which occasioned the Turks to be left, for some days, alone in the combat: it happened fortunately for them, that previous arrangements laid Buonaparté under the necessity of drawing off a great part of his force about the same time.

Dgezzar had sent his emissaries among the Napolouzians, and to the cities of Sidon, Damascus, and Aleppo; and, with them, considerable sums of money, to induce all the Mussulmen in those parts, who were capable of bearing arms, to rise *en masse*, for the purpose, as expressed in the firmans, of combating the infidels. This measure produced a considerable effect; large bodies of troops were assembling at Damascus, and magazines were establishing at the fort of Tabarie, which was occupied by the Maugrabins. In expectation of these forces, Dgezzar caused frequent sorties to be made, during the first days of the siege, which the French supposed to be with a view of facilitating the entry of those forces, Buonaparté, therefore, was anxious to effect a breach before their arrival. He ordered that a lodgement in the tower, wherein a breach had been made, should be attempted; but the Turks had filled the breach in such a manner with sandbags, timber, and bales of cotton, that the effort was impracticable; and, for want of some battering cannon, and a sufficient stock of ammunition, he was unable to commence a new attack. In the meantime he laboured to establish a mine under the tower, to blow it up, which would have laid open the place. This was an undertaking of great importance; but, the Turks made frequent sorties, and hindered the operation.

It was now evident that the place would not be taken by a *coup de main*; and Buonaparté saw that he must use his endeavours to prevent the reinforcements reaching the town. General Vial was dispatched to Tyre, where the inhabitants had armed in favour of the Pacha, with orders to make himself

master of the place. He arrived, after a march of eleven hours, through roads impassable to artillery, and discovered, on entering the plain, the vestiges of an ancient fortress, and of two temples. At the approach of his force, the inhabitants were alarmed, and took to flight; he, however, quieted their apprehensions, by promising to protect them; and, having left a garrison of 200 men to guard the place, he quitted Tyre on the 5th of April.

Buonaparté was informed, by some Christians from Damascus, that a considerable force, composed of Mamelukes, Janizaries of Damascus, Deletians, Alepins, and Maugrabins, was preparing to pass the Jordan, in order to join the Arabs and Naplouzians, and to attack the French before Acre, at the same time that Dgezzar should make a grand sortie, supported by the fire of the English vessels; he was also informed, that some troops had passed the bridge of Jacob on the Jordan. The officer who commanded the advanced posts at Nazareth, sent intelligence that another column had passed the bridge called Jesre-el-Meckanie, and had advanced to Tabarie, that the Arabs appeared in great numbers at the entrance of the mountains of Naplouze, and that Tabarie and Genin had received considerable supplies of provisions.

The general of brigade, Junot, was sent to observe their motions; he learned that the Mahomedans were assembling in considerable numbers on the heights of Loubi, about four leagues from Nazareth, in the direction of Tabarie, and that some of them had advanced to the village of Loubi. He marched, with a part of the 2d light infantry, three companies of the 19th, consisting of about 350 men, and

a detachment of 160 cavalry, drafted from different corps, for the purpose of reconnoitring. At a short distance from Ghafar-Kana, he perceived the enemy, on an eminence near Loubi; he pursued his march, turned the mountain, and found himself surrounded in an adjoining plain, by a body of about 3,000 cavalry. The most intrepid of these rushed upon his force, and obliged him to give the most striking examples of courage to his soldiers, who shewed themselves worthy of their intrepid leader; and dispersed the assailants. General Junot, with his little force, gradually gained the heights near Nazareth, on which route he fought for the space of two leagues. This affair cost the French 60 men; which was a more serious loss to them than the 600 killed of the natives was to the Turks.

Buonaparté, on receiving intelligence of this engagement, ordered General Kleber to set out from the camp before Acre with the remainder of the advanced guard, in order to join General Junot at Nazareth. He repaired to Nazareth for a supply of provisions, and being informed that the enemy had not quitted their position near Loubi, he determined to march against, and to attack them the next day, the 22d Germinal. He had scarcely reached the heights of Sed-jara, a quarter of a league from Loubi, and a league and a half from Kana, when the enemy descended from their elevated position, and rushed into the plain. General Kleber was immediately surrounded by a body of nearly 4,000 cavalry, and five or six hundred foot, who prepared to charge him; this the General anticipated by attacking the cavalry, and, at the same time, directing

a part of his force against the enemy's camp, near Sed-jara, which he carried; the enemy abandoned the field of battle, and retreated in disorder towards the Jordan, whither he could not pursue them for want of ammunition. The French then returned to the positions of Safarie, and of Nazareth, but were not long suffered to remain quiet, as the hordes lately defeated were joined by an immense body of Samaritans, or Naplouzians. The entire force, according to General Kleber's accounts, was between fifteen and eighteen thousand men; but the exaggerated statements of the inhabitants of the country increased their numbers to forty or fifty thousand. Buonaparté learned, also, that the country all round was rising to attack the posts which he had stationed in the wilderness, and determined that a decisive battle should be fought, with a view of effectually subduing a multitude, who, taking advantage of their numbers, harassed him with a desultory warfare, almost to the verge of his camp. He thought that if once routed, those people, who were under no necessity of fighting, would place little reliance on the assurances of Dgezzar; and that by the terror of his arms he should convert many of them into friends. He was fully aware of the disadvantages which would attend an action near his position before Acre; he, therefore, gave orders for making the necessary dispositions for the attack at a distance, and to force them to repass the Jordan. The route from Damascus, in crossing the Jordan, is, either on the right of the lake of Tabarie, by the bridge of Jacob, at three leagues distance from which is situated the castle of Saffet; or, on the

left of that lake, by the bridge of El-Meckanie, a short distance from the fort of Tabarie. These two fortresses are to the right of the Jordan.

General Murat marched from the camp before Acre with 1,000 infantry, and a regiment of cavalry. He was ordered to proceed with all possible expedition to the bridge of Jacob, of which he was to take possession, in order to attack in the rear the force that invested Saffet, and afterwards to join, as soon as practicable, the troops under General Kleber, who was greatly in want of reinforcements; that officer, having intimated his intentions of turning the enemy's positions at Fouli and Tabarie, and to endeavour to surprise them by night in their camps.

Buonaparté left the siege of Acre to the generals Regnier, and Lafne, and set out from the camp, with the remainder of the cavalry, the division of General Bon, and eight field pieces; he took a position on the heights of Safarie, where the troops were all night under arms. He marched towards Fouli, through the defiles which branched among the mountains, and arrived at the heights, from whence Fouli and Mount Tabor can be seen; he perceived, at the distance of about three leagues, the division of General Kleber actually engaged with the enemy, whose force appeared to be about 25,000, all cavalry, and surrounding the French troops, who did not exceed 2,000. Buonaparté formed his force into three squares, one of which was cavalry, and prepared for turning the enemy at a considerable distance, in order to separate them from the camp, cut off their retreat to Jennin, where their magazines were established, and to drive them to the Jordan,

where General Murat could successfully, and finally, encounter them. The cavalry, under the command of General Le Turq, with two light field pieces, were ordered to storm the camp of the Mamelukes, while the infantry advanced against the main body.

General Kleber, on the march from his camp at Safarie, had been led astray by the guides, and retarded by the difficulties of the way, and the defiles he had to pass; he was unable to come up with the Mamelukes, until being informed of his approach, by their advanced posts on the heights of Harmon, they had time to make preparations for his reception. General Kleber formed his infantry into two square columns, and occupied some ruins in his front. The enemy stationed the Naplouzian infantry, with two small field pieces, brought by camels, in the village of Fouli: all the cavalry, to the amount of 25,000 surrounded the army of Kleber, but without success; every effort to dislodge it was defeated by superior skill; the French musketry and grape shot did considerable execution.

Buonaparte, on arriving within half a league from the scene of action, ordered General Rampon to march directly to the assistance of Kleber's division and to attack the enemy on the flanks and in the rear. General Vial was ordered to proceed to the Mountains of Noures, in order to force the enemy towards the Jordan; and the infantry guides were commanded to direct the course of the remaining troops towards Jenin, so as to intercept their retreat to that quarter. At the moment the columns began to advance in their different directions, an eight pounder was discharged. General Kleber knowing by this signal of the approach of the General in Chief, no longer re-

mained on the defensive, he advanced to the village of Fouli, which he attacked and carried by the bayonet; he then advanced rapidly, towards the cavalry, putting all those who resisted his progress to the sword: at the same time Generals Rampon and Vial cut off the retreat of the enemy towards the mountains of Naplouze, and the infantry guides shot such as attempted to escape towards Jenin. Disorder and hesitation prevailed; the enemy saw their retreat to their camp intercepted, they were cut off from their magazines, and surrounded by their adversaries on all sides; at length they determined to seek for refuge in the rear of Mount Tabor; this situation they gained, and retreated during the night, over the bridge of El-Mekanie; some, in endeavouring to pass at a ford, were drowned in the Jordan.

General Murat had driven the Turks from their position at the bridge of Jacob, surprised the son of the Governor of Damascus, carried his camp, killed a great number of men, raised the blockade of Safet, and pursued the enemy several leagues on the route to Damascus. The column of cavalry, under the order of the Adjutant-General Le Turq, had surprised the camp of the Mamelukes, carried off 500 camels, with all their provisions, killed a great number of men, and made 250 prisoners. Whilst the army remained under arms at Mount Tabor, Buonaparté resorted to his usual mode of encouraging the troops, by representing those trifling advantages as affairs of the greatest consequence. From this point, intelligence of the recent successes were dispatched to the different corps occupying Tyre, Cesarea, the Cataracts of the Nile, the Pelusian

mouths, Alexandria, the posts on the borders of the Red Sea, at the ruins of Kolsun, and at Arsinoe.

The Naplouzians of Noures, Jenin and Fouli, had not ceased, since the commencement of the siege of Acre, to attack the convoys of the French army, to keep up a correspondence with Dgezzar, and to give him every assistance in their power; these hostile proceedings holding out a most dangerous example, Buonaparté ordered these villages to be burned, and to put all found therein to the sword. General Murat advanced to Taborie, where he took possession of the warlike stores and great quantities of provisions, which the enemy had abandoned. General Kleber took a position at Nazareth; he was ordered to occupy the bridges of Jacob and El-Mekanie, the castles of Saffet and Taborie, and charged narrowly to watch the banks of the Jordan.

The result of the battle of mount Tabor was, the discomfiture of 25,000 cavalry, and 10,000 infantry, by 4000 French troops; the capture of all the enemy's magazines in these parts, and their flight to Damascus. By their own accounts their loss exceeded 5000 men; and they were at a loss to conceive how, at the same moment, they could have been defeated on a line extending nine leagues, so little notion had they of combined operations.

Buonaparte now returned to Acre, imagining that he had accomplished great objects; but, in reality, he had been merely promoting the views of the British and Turkish commanders.

CHAPTER X.

Buonaparté continues the Siege of Acre—Various Operations of the Besiegers and Besieged.

BUONAPARTE now being informed that Admiral Perree was before Jaffa, and that he had landed three 24, and six 18-pounders, with a quantity of ammunition; he gave orders that Admiral Gantheaume should cruise with the frigates between the coasts of Syria and Cyprus, in order to seize on the vessels which were conveying supplies of ammunition and provisions to Acre. Some Arabs, posted in the environs of Mount Carmel, at the desire of Sir S. Smith and the Pacha, interrupted the communications of the French army. General Le Turq was sent, with a corps of 300 men, in order to disperse them; he surprised their camp, killed 61, and brought away 800 head of cattle, which were of great service to the army. But still Buonaparté had effected no part of his object, and was further from its attainment than on his first arrival, for the British Commodore had caused such formidable works to be erected, that all further attempts were useless, and only served to shew the General's disregard of human life. At the end of one month after the trenches had been opened before the town, the only advantage that Buonaparté had gained, was, that his army had killed Major Oldfield, Captain Wilmot, and Colonel Phillipeau, three of the most able officers in the English army, with an immense number of persons of less consequence, in the numerous sorties that were made from the garrison. The ships and boats in the port continued to

annoy his camp incessantly, and it became necessary, in the opinion of Buonaparté, that decisive measures should still be hazarded.

On the 25th of April, a mine intended to blow up the tower, near the breach, was completed, and the batteries were opened upon the place. The mine was set fire to, but a subterraneous passage under the tower presenting a line that weakened the resistance, the mine blew up but on one side of the tower, and the breach remained in such a state as to be difficult of access as before. Buonaparté ordered 30 grenadiers to get into the tower, and reconnoitre its means of communication with the rest of the fortrefs; they advanced as far as the ruins under the arch of the upper story, but the Allies, who kept up a communication by means of the narrow vaulted passages, and who were in possession of the ruins of the upper arches, showered down such quantities of burning materials upon them, that those who were not entirely disabled hastily retreated.

On the 25th, in the evening, an attempt was made to effect a lodgment in the first story, and workmen were employed several hours for the purpose of rendering it more practicable: but the Turks allowed them to approach the breach only to get them within their power; they threw down burning materials upon them, and compelled them again to retire from the tower.

The British, in order to defend their front of attack, of which almost all the cannon were dismounted, ran out a ravelin on each side of the enemy's approach, which was worked by the English marines, under a constant cannonade from the French; batteries were also formed, which advantageously flanked the tower

and the breach. The English and the Turks laboured at these works without cessation, and every step was taken to increase the effect of the fire from the flanking batteries, and to prepare for a counter attack against the trenches of the besiegers. Under cover of the fire from the towers and elevated walls, they formed their outworks with a degree of facility; and it was evidently impossible for the French to make any impression without a far superior artillery, and a greater quantity of ammunition than they were provided with: several times did they carry these works, but were always driven from them.

On the 1st of May four 18-pounders were directed against the tower, for the purpose of widening the breach; in the evening 20 grenadiers were ordered to effect a lodgment in the tower, and, in some measure, succeeded; but they were exposed to a cross fire of the marines in the fosse, and, feeling the impossibility of passing through the tower, desisted from the attempt. At the moment the grenadiers were mounting the breach at the tower the besieged made a strong sortie from their right; they were charged by two companies of grenadiers with such impetuosity and effect, that all those who could not retire under the protection of the fire from the gunboats, were cut off or driven into the sea.

Buonaparté gave orders that a second breach should be made in the curtain of the fortifications to the Eastward: a sapping against the fosses, and the formation of a mine, in order to blow up the counter-scarp, were also ordered. Until the 4th of May the works and operations of the besiegers and the besieged were carried on with great ardour and activity;

when the ammunition of the French began to fail, and Buonaparté ordered the fire to be slackened. Perceiving this, the besieged carried on their sapping with greater activity than ever, particularly that on the right, the object of which was to prevent the French sapping from communicating with the new mine. At ten o'clock at night, some companies of grenadiers began to storm the outworks; the Turkish advanced guard was surprised, many of them put to the sword, the works taken possession of and three of the guns spiked; but the fire of the place, to which these works were completely exposed, prevented the French remaining long enough to destroy them, and they were re-entered by their former possessors. The main object of the besieged was to counteract the mine, which was intended for blowing up the counterscarp that had been formed in front of the new breach in the curtain, and at this they laboured with the greatest activity. In the morning of the 6th they made extraordinary exertions for the purpose, but not succeeding to their wishes, they immediately determined to cut through their counterscarp, as near as possible to the mine; at three o'clock the French perceived that they were opening, by a covert sapping, the mask of the mine; Buonaparté cannonaded them, but the mischief was done; the mine was completely counter-worked, a vent opened, and the frame destroyed.

The old breach at the tower now appeared the only point against which he could direct his attacks with any prospect of success. Buonaparté, therefore, issued orders, that, in the night between the 6th and 7th, the troops should possess themselves of the outworks, which were erected for flanking the breach, and particularly that which crowned the glacis, near

the first mine; that the attack should be made as expeditiously as possible: and that all those who occupied the works should be put to the sword, and a lodgment therein secured. These orders were partly effected by the riflemen of the 87th, and a body of grenadiers, who gained possession of the works, except those which crowned the glacis, near the old mine, and flanked the tower; they were, however, checked by the terrible fire from the town, which rendered all these desperate efforts unavailing, and compelled the goaded soldiers, once more, to retire, with great loss.

On the 7th of May 30 sail of Turkish ships arrived at Acre, from the Island of Rhodes, laden with stores and provisions for the besieged, and brought, besides, a considerable reinforcement of troops; they were under convoy of a caraval and several armed corvettes, commanded by Hassan Bey. Buonaparté discovered this fleet as soon as it hove in sight; and, anxious that some decisive operation should take place before the arrival of the succours, gave orders that a renewal of the attack should take place during the night. At ten o'clock the fire of the besiegers was increased tenfold, the ravelins, the work upon the glacis, and the tower upon the breach, were all carried, and a lodgement made in the tower. The 18th and 32d demi-brigades filled up the newly constructed works with the bodies of their slain; they spiked a number of cannon; and neither suffered the determined resistance of the Anglo-Turks, nor the tremendous fire from the batteries to retard their progress. Never, on any occasion, was more valour or intrepidity displayed than upon this occasion. Generals Bon, Vial, and Rampon, were at the head of the demi-brigades, and afforded the most striking examples of active

courage combined with cool determination. Boyer, chief of the 18th, was killed in this attack; and 150 of those intrepid fellows, 17 of them officers, were killed and wounded.

The flanking fire from the shipping was, as usual, plied to the utmost, but with less effect than heretofore, as the French had thrown up epaulments and traverses of sufficient thickness to protect them from it. The guns that could be worked to the greatest advantage were, a French brass 18-pounder in the Lighthouse Castle, manned from the *Thésée*, under the direction of Mr. Scroder, master's-mate, and the last mounted 24-pounder in the North ravelin, manned from the *Tigre*, under the direction of Mr. Jones, midshipman: these guns, being within grape distance of the head of the attacking column, added to the Turkish musketry, did great execution, and were highly creditable to the two officers, whose indefatigable vigilance and zeal merited the warmest praise. Two 68-pound carronades, belonging to the *Tigre*, were mounted in two gorges lying in the mole, and worked under the direction of Mr. Bray, carpenter of that ship, threw shells into the centre of the French column, and checked it considerably. Still, however, they gained ground, and Generals Lafnes and Rombaud, with 200 men, made a lodgment in the second story of the North-east tower; the upper part being entirely battered down, and the ruins in the ditch forming the ascent by which they mounted. Day-light discovered the French standard on the outer angle of the tower. The fire of the besieged was much slackened, in comparison to that of the besiegers, and the flanking fire was become of less effect; the French having

covered themselves in this lodgment, and the approach to it, by two traverses across the ditch (which they had constructed under the fire that had been opposed to them during the whole of the night) and which were composed of sand-bags, and the bodies of their dead built in with them, their bayonets only being visible above them. Hassan Bey's troops were in the boats, though, as yet, but half-way to shore: this was the most critical point of the contest for the English and Turkish commanders, and their utmost exertions were necessary to preserve the place till the boats could arrive. Accordingly, Sir Sidney Smith landed his boats at the mole, and took the crews up to the breach, armed with pikes. The enthusiastic gratitude of the Turks, men, women, and children, at sight of such a reinforcement, at such a time, was not to be described. Many fugitives were encouraged to return to the breach, which was yet defended by a few brave Turks, whose most destructive missile weapons were heavy stones, which, striking the assailants on the head, overthrew the foremost down the slope, and impeded the progress of the rest. Dgezzar Pacha hearing that the English were on the breach, quitted his station, where, according to the ancient Turkish custom, he was sitting to reward such as should bring him the heads of the enemy, and distributing musket cartridges with his own hands, and, coming behind them, pulled them down with violence; saying, "If any harm happened to his English friends, all was lost." This amicable contest, as to who should defend the breach, occasioned a rush of Turks to the spot, and thus time was gained for the arrival of the first body of Hassan Bey's troops. The garrison, animated by the

appearance of such a reinforcement, was now all our foot, and there being consequently enough to defend the breach, Sir Sidney Smith gave directions to the colonel, Solomon Aga, to get possession of the enemy's third parallel, or nearest trench, and there fortify himself, by shifting the parapet outwards. The gates were opened, and the Turks rushed out; but they were not equal to such a movement, and were driven back to the town, with loss. Mr. Bray, however, protected the town-gate efficaciously, with grape, from the 68-pounders. The sortie obliged the enemy to expose themselves above their parapets, so that the flanking fire brought down numbers of them, and drew their force from the breach, and the small number remaining on the lodgment were killed or dispersed by a few hand grenades, thrown by Mr. Savage, midshipman of the *Theseus*. The enemy began a new breach, by an incessant fire directed to the Southward of the lodgment, every shot knocking down whole sheets of a wall much less solid than that of the tower, on which they had expended so much time and ammunition. The group of generals and aid-du-camps which the shells from the 68-pounders had frequently dispersed, now re-assembled on Richard Cœur de Lion's Mount. Buonaparté was distinguishable in the centre of a semicircle; his gesticulations indicated a renewal of the attack, and his dispatching an aid-du-camp to the camp shewed that he waited only for a reinforcement. Sir Sidney made his arrangements accordingly, and gave directions for Hassan Bey's ships to take their stations in the shoal water to the Southward, and the *Tigre* received orders to weigh, and join the *Theseus* to the Northward. A little before sunset, a massive column

appeared advancing to the breach with a solemn step. The Pacha's idea was, not to defend the breach this time, but rather to let a certain number of the enemy in, and then close with them, according to the Turkish mode of war. The column thus mounted the breach unmolested, and descended from the rampart into the Pacha's garden, where, in a very few minutes, the bravest and most advanced among them lay headless corpses, the sabre, with the addition of a dagger in the other hand, proving more than a match for the bayonet; the rest retreated precipitately; and General Lafne, who was seen manfully encouraging his men to mount the breach, was carried off wounded by a musket shot. Much confusion arose in the town from the actual entry of the French, it having been impossible, nay, impolitic, to give previous information to everybody of the mode of defence adopted, lest the French should come to a knowledge of it, by means of their numerous emissaries. The French now imagined that their work was done, and pressed forward with additional courage, and they were greatly favoured by the difficulty that the Turks found in distinguishing their friends from their enemies. The English uniform, which had hitherto served as a rallying point for the old garrison, wherever it appeared, was now mistaken for French, the newly arrived Turks not distinguishing between one hat and another in the crowd; and thus many a severe blow of a sabre was parried by the English officers, among which Colonel Douglass, Mr. Ives, and Mr. Jones, had nearly lost their lives, as they were forcing their way through a torrent of fugitives; the mistake was corrected by the Pacha's exertions, aided by Mr. Trotter, who

had just arrived with Hassan Bey. The breach being perfectly practicable for 50 men a-breast, nothing but the most determined courage could resist the impetuosity of the French troops; a close combat ensued, and man to man fought with the greatest fury. General Rombaudo was killed, and Buonaparté saw that his troops were likely to suffer so much by continuing the contest, that he gave them orders to retreat.

On returning to their camp, the French learned, through Admiral Gantheaume, that Admiral Perree, while cruising before Jaffa, had taken two vessels, that had separated from the Turkish fleet; on board these were found six pieces of field artillery, a considerable quantity of harnesses, and provisions; 150,000 livres in specie, 400 soldiers, and the Commissary of the Turkish fleet. On the person of this officer, was found a statement of the number of troops embarked in the fleet, and of the quantity of warlike stores and provisions; and the French understood from him, that the fleet made part of an armament for an intended expedition against Alexandria, combined with one which Dgezzar had undertaken by land; but, that on receiving the intelligence of the unforeseen attack upon St. John d'Acre, they had dispatched the fleet, together with the troops, the utmost force they could then collect, to the relief of that place. This change in their destination took place at the pressing request of Sir Sidney Smith.

During the day and night of the 9th of May the French batteries continued to fire; the 10th, at two o'clock in the morning, Buonaparté closely viewed the breach, and gave orders for a new assault. The

riflemen of the different divisions, the grenadiers of the 15th and 19th, and the carbineers of the 2d light infantry, mounted the breach; they surprised the outposts, and put those found therein to the sword; but their progress was stopped by some newly formed intrenchments, which they were utterly unable to force; they were, therefore, obliged to retreat in confusion. The firing from the batteries continued the whole day; at four in the afternoon the grenadiers of the 25th demi-brigade solicited from Buonaparté the honour of being permitted to begin the assault; their request was granted: they rushed forward, but the Anglo-Turkish troops had formed a second and a third line of defence, to force which required an entire new disposition; the troops, therefore, were again ordered to retreat. The three last assaults cost the army about 200 killed, and 500 wounded; among the latter was General Bon, who afterwards died of his wounds. The Adjutant-general Foulcr, Venoux, chief of the 25th, and the assistants to the adjutant-generals, Pinault and Gerbault, and Citizen Croisier, aide de camp to the General in Chief, were also mortally wounded. Citizen Arrighy, aide de camp to General Berthier, and the assistants to the adjutants-general, Netherwood and Monpatris, were severely wounded. The rear of the parallels, and the whole space between the two armies, was covered with dead bodies, the stench of which became intolerable, and obliged the French to desist for a time, from any further operation.

CHAPTER XI.

Continuation of the Siege of Acre.—Proclamation of the Porte, by Sir Sidney Smith, to the French Army.—Buonaparte raises the Siege of Acre.—His Proclamation to his Army.—Sir Sidney Smith's important Dispatches on the Siege being raised.

BUONAPARTE now wrote to the Pacha to desire a truce, for the purpose of enabling both sides to bury their dead, and demanded an exchange of prisoners; but, as he made no mention of the English Commander, Dgezzar paid Sir Sidney Smith the compliment of leaving the answer entirely to him. No answer was sent to the proposal till the 17th, six days after it had been received; and the bearer of the dispatch carried with him the following

PROCLAMATION.

The Minister of the SUBLIME PORTE to the Generals, Officers, and Soldiers, of the French Army in Egypt.

“The French Directory, entirely forgetting the rights of nations, has led you into an error, beguiled your good faith, and, in contempt of the laws of war, sent you to Egypt, a country subject to the dominion of the Sublime Porte, persuading you that it could consent to the invasion of its territories.

“Can you doubt, that, in thus sending you to a distant region, its sole end has been to exile you from France, to plunge you into an abyss of dangers, and to consign you to destruction? If, under a total ignorance of your situation, you have entered the land of Egypt; if you have served as the instruments of a violation of treaties, hitherto

unknown among powers, is it not solely through the perfidy of your Directors? Yes, without doubt. Egypt, however, must be delivered from an invasion so iniquitous. Innumerable armies, for that purpose, are this moment on their march, and immense fleets already cover the seas.

"Those among you, of whatever rank, who wish to withdraw from the perils that await you, must, without delay, manifest your intentions to the commanders of the marine and land forces, of the Allied Powers; and you may rest assured of being conducted to those places, to which you are desirous of proceeding, and that you shall be furnished with passports, in order that you may not be molested on your route by the cruisers, or squadrons of the Allied Powers. Hasten, therefore, in time, to take advantage of the benign intentions of the Sublime Porte, and regard this, as a propitious offer of extricating yourselves from the frightful abyss into which you have been plunged.

"Done at Constantinople, the 11th of the Moon Ramazan, the year of Hegira 1213, (February 5th, 1799.)"

"I, the undersigned Minister Plenipotentiary of the King of England, at the Ottoman Porte, at present commanding the combined fleet, before Acre, certify the authenticity of this Proclamation, and guarantee the execution of it.

(Signed)

SIDNEY SMITH."

"On board the Tigre, 10th of May, 1799."

This Proclamation gave great offence, as well as an expression in the answer to the proposal, "Does he not know, asked Sir Sidney, "that it is for me to dispose of the ground that lies under my artillery!" — The firing continued on both sides.

About this period the British received intelligence of various movements of the French army.

peared to be connected with a general system of external attack meditated against the French in Egypt. At Cairo, and in the other principal towns, the public tranquillity was not disturbed in the smallest degree; but in the provinces of Benishef, Charkie, and Bahere, it was with very great difficulty that these disturbances were quelled, notwithstanding all the activity of the French troops and generals. The most alarming news, however, was, that an English frigate had approached Suez, whence it was to be feared that a force might be landed in that quarter, which would place the army between two fires; and it appeared no longer to be a matter of choice whether the siege should be raised, and the army take the only chance remaining of saving itself. Two months had nearly elapsed, and the undertaking seemed more difficult than ever; indeed, Buonaparté now only waited under the walls till he could find an excuse for abandoning his enterprise; doubtless, he trusted to his ingenuity to help him out, and he availed himself of the interval to call in his outposts, and to send forward his sick and wounded; at length, when he thought he could tell a good story to the army, he announced his determination to return to Egypt, in the following

PROCLAMATION.

*At Head Quarters, before Acre, the 28th Floreal, (17th May)
an. 7, (1799.)*

BONAPARTE, *General in Chief.*

“Soldiers

“You have traversed the desert which separates Africa from Asia, with the rapidity of an Arab force!

"The army, which was on its march to invade Egypt, is destroyed; you have taken its general, its field artillery, camels, and its baggage; you have taken all the fortified ports which secure the wells of the Desert, and you have dispersed, in the districts of Mount Tabor, those swarms of brigands, collected from all parts of Asia, in the hope of sharing the plunder of Egypt.

"The thirty ships, which, twelve days since, you saw enter the port of Acre with troops, were destined for an attack upon Alexandria; have been compelled to hasten to the relief of Acre, and several of their standards will contribute to adorn your triumphal entry into Egypt.

"Finally, after having, with a handful of men, maintained the war, during three months, in the heart of Syria, taken forty pieces of cannon, fifty stand of colours, six thousand prisoners, and raised or destroyed the fortifications of Gaza, Jaffa, Caiffa, and of Acre, we prepare to return to Egypt, where the approaching season for landing imperiously calls for our presence.

"A few days longer might give you the hope of taking the Pacha in his palace; but, at this season, the castle of Acre is not worth the loss of those days, nor of those brave soldiers who must fall in the time, and are now necessary for more essential services.

"Soldiers!—we have yet a toilsome and perilous task to perform. After having secured ourselves from attacks from the Eastward this campaign, it will, perhaps, be necessary we should repel the efforts made from the West. You will, in that case, have new opportunities of acquiring glory; and if, engaged in so many encounters, each day is marked by the death of a brave comrade, fresh soldiers will come forward, and supply the ranks of that select number, which best gives an irresistible impulse in the moment of danger, and commands victory."

On the 20th of May at nine in the evening, the *generale* was beat, and the siege, which lasted 60 days,

after the opening of the trenches, was raised ; but as the conclusion of the struggle has been so ably stated by the British Commander, it would be doing injustice to our History to suppress his own Dispatch.

“ *Tigre, at anchor off Jaffa, May 30, 1799.*

“ My LORD,

The providence of Almighty God has been wonderfully manifested, in the defeat and precipitate retreat of the French army, the means we had of opposing its gigantic efforts against us being totally inadequate, of themselves, to the production of such a result. The measure of their iniquities seems to have been filled by the *massacre* of the Turkish prisoners at Jaffa, in cool blood, *three* days after their capture : and the Plain of Nazareth has been the boundary of Buonaparté’s extraordinary career. He raised the siege of Acre on the 20th May, leaving all his heavy artillery behind him, either buried or thrown into the sea, where, however, it is visible, and can easily be weighed. The circumstances which led to this event, subsequent to my last dispatch of the 9th instant, are as follows :

Conceiving that the ideas of the Syrians, as to the supposed irresistible prowess of these invaders, must be changed, since they had witnessed the checks which the besieging army daily met with in their operations before the town of Acre, I wrote a circular letter to the princes and chiefs of the Christians of Mount Lebanon, and also to the Sheiks of the Druses, recalling them to a sense of their duty, and engaging them to cut off the supplies from the French camp. I sent them, at the same time, a copy of Buonaparté’s impious Proclamation, in which he boasts of having overthrown all Christian establishments, accompanied by a suitable exhortation, calling upon them to choose between the friendship of a Christian Knight and that of an unprincipled Renegado. This letter had all the effect I could desire. They immediately sent me two ambassadors,

professing not only friendship but obedience ; assuring me, that, in proof of the latter, they had sent out parties to arrest such of the mountaineers as should be found carrying wine and gunpowder to the French camp, and placing eighty prisoners of this description at my disposal. I had thus the satisfaction to find Buonaparté's career farther Northward effectually stopped by a warlike people, inhabiting an impenetrable country. General Kleber's division had been sent Eastward, towards the fords of the Jordan, to oppose the Damascus army ; it was recalled from thence to take its turn in the daily efforts to mount the breach at Acre, in which every other division, in succession, had failed, with the loss of their bravest men, and above three-fourths of their officers. It seems much was hoped from this division, as it had, by its firmness, and the steady front it opposed, in the form of a hollow square, kept upwards of 10,000 men in check, during a whole day, in the plain between Nazareth and Mount Tabor, till Buonaparté came with his horse-artillery, and extricated these troops, dispersing the multitude of irregular cavalry, by which they were completely surrounded.

The Turkish Chifflick regiment having been censured for the ill success of their sally, and their unsteadiness in the attack of the garden, made a fresh sally the next night ; Soliman Aga the Lieutenant-colonel, being determined to retrieve the honour of the regiment by the punctual execution of the orders I had given him, to make himself master of the enemy's third parallel, and this he did most effectually ; but the impetuosity of a few carried them on to the second trench, where they lost some of their standards, though they spiked four guns before their retreat. Kleber's division, instead of mounting the breach, according to Buonaparté's intention, was thus obliged to spend its time and its strength in recovering these works, in which it succeeded, after a conflict of three hours, leaving every thing in *statu quo*, except the loss of men, which was very considerable on both sides. After this failure, the French

grenadiers absolutely refused to mount the breach any more, over the putrid bodies of their unburied companions sacrificed, in former attacks, by Buonaparté's impatience and precipitation, which led him to commit such palpable errors as even seamen could take advantage of. He seemed to have no principle of action but that of pressing forward, and appeared to stick at nothing to obtain the object of his ambition, although it must be evident to every body else, that, even if he succeeded to take the town, the fire of the shipping must drive him out of it again in a short time : however, the knowledge the garrison had of the inhuman massacre at Jaffa rendered them desperate in their personal defence. Two attempts to assassinate me, in the town, having failed, recourse was had to a most flagrant breach of every law of honour and of war : A flag of truce was sent into the town, by the hand of an Arab dervise, with a letter to the Pacha, proposing a cessation of arms, for the purpose of burying the dead bodies, the stench from which became intolerable, and threatened the existence of every one of us, on both sides. Many having died delirious within a few hours after being seized with the first symptoms of infection ; it was natural that we should gladly listen to this proposition, and that we should, consequently, be off our guard during the conference. While the answer was under consideration, a volley of shot and shells, on a sudden, announced an assault, which, however, the garrison was ready to receive, and the assailants only contributed to increase the number of the dead bodies in question, to the eternal disgrace of the General who thus disloyally sacrificed them. I saved the life of the Arab from the effect of the indignation of the Turks, and took him off to the Tigre with me, from whence I sent him back to the General, with a message, which made the army ashamed of having been exposed to such a merited reproof. Subordination was now at an end, and all hopes of success having vanished, the enemy had no alternative left but a precipitate retreat, which was put in execution in the night between the 20th and 21st instant.

I have said above, that the battering train of artillery, (except the carriages, which were burnt) is now in our hands, amounting to 23 pieces. The howitzers and medium 12-pounders originally conveyed by land, with much difficulty, and successfully employed to make the first breach, were embarked in the country vessels at Jaffa, to be conveyed coastwise, together with the worst among the 2000 wounded, which embarrassed the march of the army. This operation was to be expected; I took care, therefore, to be between Jaffa and Damietta, before the French army could get as far as the former place. The vessels being hurried to sea without seamen to navigate them, and the wounded being in want of every necessary, even water and provisions, they steered strait to his Majesty's ships, in full confidence of receiving the succours of humanity, in which they were not disappointed. I have sent them on to Damietta, where, they will receive such further aid as their situation requires, and which it was out of my power, to give to so many. Their expressions of gratitude to us were mingled with execrations on the name of their General, who had, as they said, thus exposed them to peril rather than fairly and honourably renew the intercourse with the English, which he had broken off by a false and malicious assertion, that I had intentionally exposed the former prisoners to the infection of the plague. To the honour of the French army be it said, this assertion was not believed by them, and it thus recoiled on its author: the intention of it was evidently, to do away the effect which the Proclamation of the Porte began to make on the soldiers, whose eager hands were held above the parapet of their works to receive them, when thrown from the breach. He cannot plead misinformation as his excuse, his Aid-de-camp, Mr. Laliemand, having had free intercourse with these prisoners on board the Tigre when he came to treat about them; and having been ordered, though too late, not to repeat their expressions of contentment at the prospect of going home. It was evident to both sides, that when a general

had recourse to such a shallow, and, at the same time, to such a mean artifice as a malicious falsehood, all better resources were at an end, and the defection in his army, was consequently, increased to the highest pitch.

The utmost disorder has been manifested in the retreat, and the whole track between Acre and Gaza is strewed with dead bodies of those who have sunk under fatigue, or the effect of slight wounds; such as could walk, unfortunately for them, not having been embarked. The rowing gun-boats annoyed the van column of the retreating army on its march along the beach, and the Arabs harassed its rear when it turned inland, to avoid their fire. We observed the smoke of musketry behind the sand-hills, from the attack of a party of them, which came down to our boats, and touched our flag with every token of union and respect. Ismael Pacha, governor of Jerusalem, to whom notice was sent of Buonaparté's preparation for retreat, having entered this town by land, at the same time that we brought our guns to bear on by sea, a stop was put to the massacre and pillage already begun by the Naplousians. The English flag, rehoisted on the Consul's house (under which the Pacha met me) serves as an asylum for all religions and every description of the surviving inhabitants. The heaps of unburied Frenchmen, lying on the bodies of those whom they had massacred two months ago, afford another proof of divine justice, which has caused these murderers to perish by the infection arising from their own atrocious act. Seven poor wretches are left alive in the hospital, where they are protected, and shall be taken care of. We have had a most dangerous and painful duty in disembarking here to protect the inhabitants, but it has been effectually done; and Ismael Pacha deserves every credit for his humane exertions and cordial co-operation to that effect. Two thousand cavalry are just dispatched to harass the French rear; and I am in hopes to overtake their van in time to profit by their disorder; but this will depend on the assembling of sufficient force, and on the exertions, of which I am not absolutely

master, though I do my utmost to give the necessary impulse, and a right direction. I have every confidence that the officers and men of the three ships under my orders, who, in the face of a most formidable enemy, have fortified a town that had not a single heavy gun mounted on the land side, and who have carried on all intercourse by boats, under a constant fire of musketry and grape, will be able efficaciously to assist the army in its future operations. This letter will be delivered to your Lordship by Lieutenant Canes, first of the *Tigre*, whom I have judged worthy to command the *Theseus*, as captain, ever since the death of my much-lamented friend and coadjutor, Miller. I have taken Lieutenant England, first of that ship, to my assistance in the *Tigre*, by whose exertions, and those of Lieutenant Summers and Mr. Atkinson, together with the bravery of the rest of the officers and men, that ship was saved, though on fire in five places at once, from a deposit of French shells bursting onboard her.

“I have the honour to be, &c. &c. &c.

“W. SIDNEY SMITH.”

*Right Hon. Lord NELSON, Rear Admiral
of the Blue, &c. &c.*

CHAPTER XII.

The Expedition of Defaix into Upper Egypt.—He fortifies himself at Cosséir.—Buonaparté arrives at Cairo, after burning the Villages, and laying waste the Country on his March. A Turkish Force lands at Aboukir.—A dreadful Battle fought there, and the Turks are defeated.—The death of Tipsoo Saib in India.—Buonaparté conceives the Expedition to Egypt to have failed.

ALL the marches of the French armies were attended with circumstances so nearly alike, that a journal of their whole proceedings is at once tautologous and tedious. To the excursion of Defaix in Upper Egypt, the remark is particularly applicable; and of that, as well as the rest, the general description is, that they captured village after village, and town after town; that they laid the people everywhere under requisitions, and levied their taxes at the point of the bayonet; that, in order to repress the murmurings of the people, it was, occasionally, found necessary to reduce their towns to ashes, and put all the inhabitants to the sword, by way of example! that they were frequently obstructed by armies of Arabs, Mamelukes, and Fil-lahs; and that they pressed through all their difficulties, by killing here one hundred, there five hundred, and at another place, eight hundred, or a thousand! In this manner, the army of Defaix proceeded from the landing at Alexandria, on the 2d of July, 1798, until the 29th of May, 1799, when he arrived at Cosséir, on the coast of the Red Sea: here the marauding army first saw the limit that

justice had prepared for its murderous jaunt. An English force appeared before the port, and it was evident that more serious preparations were now required than had been found sufficient to scatter a few wandering tribes. The English ships had been dispatched from the East Indies, and were the same that had already appeared off Suez. Desaix endeavoured to fortify himself at Cossair, and dispatched intelligence of his precarious situation to Cairo.

Before this news reached the capital Buonaparte had arrived there from Syria, his march had spread desolation on every side, and entailed upon him, and his companions, the curses of every city, town, and habitation, from the ocean to the Desert. He reached Cairo on the 14th of June, and the Journal of his operations will read best in General Berthier's own words: "The inhabitants of the country had been guilty of all sorts of excesses; the general order given to the columns was, to burn the villages as they proceeded, and lay waste the adjacent country. The cavalry proceeded along the right, parallel with the coast; they scoured the downs, and *drove in* (that is, they stole) all the cattle that had there been collected. The division of General Kleber formed the rear guard, and did not leave Jaffa till the 29th of May. In this order, the army marched as far as Kan-jounefs; the surrounding plains presented a *continuel blaze of fire*; but the recollection of the plunder of the convoys, and the atrocities exercised against the French, by the inhabitants of these countries, abundantly justified this terrible retaliation."

After such a recital, it is wonderful how a man

of honour (if Berthier must be regarded as such) could find the impudence to declare, in a few subsequent lines of his Work, that many of the Egyptians esteemed the French as brothers, and that the French look upon Cairo as a second country !

The Anglo-Turkish forces having succeeded so well in frustrating the views of the General, it was to be expected that they would follow up their successes ; of this, he seems to have been aware ; for, immediately on his arrival at Cairo, he made such arrangements as should enable him to protect the sea coast and the Syrian frontier.

The Mamelukes in Upper Egypt had divided their forces ; a party had gone to the Oasis of Sebabiar, with the design of joining Ibrahim Bey, who had returned to Gaza, while the other, with Murad Bey, had descended through the Fayum, to gain the Oasis of the Lakes of Natron, in order to form a junction with a body of Arabs assembled in that quarter. This march of Murad Bey, combined with the movements of the Arabs, indicated a design of protecting a descent, either at Aboukir or at the Tower of the Arabs. To prevent this junction was a material point with the French, and a great many skirmishes took place, which generally terminated in the loss of a few soldiers on the part of the French, and a great number of the enemy. The tribes were sometimes scattered, the French were harassed, and it was easy to see that such a contest must be fatal to an army that had no means of recruiting itself.

Buonaparté set out from Cairo on the 14th of July, with the cavalry and infantry guides, the grenadiers of the 18th and 32d, the riflemen, and two pieces of

cannon, and advanced towards the pyramids of Gizah, where he ordered General Murat to join him. Arrived at the pyramids, his advanced guard pursued the Arabs that were in the rear of Murad Bey, who, that morning, began to ascend towards Fayum; a few men were killed in this pursuit, and several camels taken. General Murat, who had joined the General in Chief, pursued Murad Bey on his route for the space of five leagues. Buonaparté, who had designed to halt two or three days at the pyramids of Gizah, received intelligence from Alexandria, that a Turkish fleet, of 100 sail, had anchored off Aboukir, on the 11th of July, and manifested hostile designs on Alexandria. He instantly departed for Gizah, where he passed the night in making his dispositions; he ordered General Murat to proceed to Rahmanieh with his cavalry, the grenadiers of the 69th, those of the 18th and 32d, the eclaireurs, and a battalion, which was with him, of the 13th. A part of the division of General Lasnes was ordered to cross the Nile in the night, and to repair to Rahmanieh; as were also a part of General Rampon's division. The artillery destined for the march was also put in motion; and, during the night, all the necessary orders and instructions were forwarded to the different provinces with the utmost haste.

Buonaparté wrote to General Desaix, to spare him a part of his force, and to let General Friant fall into the route of Murad Bey, and follow him with his flying column wherever he went; to supply the fortrefs of Keneh, in Upper Egypt, and that of Cosseir, upon the Red Sea, amply with ammunition and provisions; to leave 100 men in each place; to

observe Cairo closely during the expedition against the Turks at Aboukir; and to concert measures with General Dugua, commandant at Cairo, for the security of the French interests in that quarter.

General Kleber was directed to advance towards Rosetta; previously leaving a sufficient number of troops for the security of Damietta, and the province. General Menou, who was gone, with a flying column, to the Lakes of Natron, was ordered to place 200 Greeks, with a piece of cannon, as garrisons in the convents, which it was thought would make excellent places of defence; the general was then to join the force at Rahmanieh with the rest of his column. Buonaparté left Gizah the 16th of July and arrived on the 19th at Rahmanieh. Generals Lafnes, Robin, and Fugieres, who were employed in the districts of Mennuf and Garbieli, in enforcing the payment of the Miri, joined the army there the 20th and 21st.

Here Buonaparté received intelligence that the Turkish ships had landed, near the fort of Aboukir, on the 12th, about 3,000 men, with artillery; and that the garrison, the commandant of which had been killed, had surrendered the same day. The French Commander was greatly mortified at this event, as it proved that the soldiers did not think the expedition worth the blood that had been shed for it, and were unwilling to spill their own. At Rosetta, the adjutant-general, Julien, secured his provisions, ammunition, and all the sick within the castle; but he remained in the town with about 200 men, whom he had under his command, and maintained public confidence and tranquillity in the province. General Marmont (who commanded at

Alexandria) dispatched intelligence to the General, that Aboukir had surrendered on capitulation; that the Turks were employed in landing their artillery; that he had destroyed the pontoons which the French had constructed over the strait which joins the lake Madie with the road of Aboukir; that he was informed by his agents, that the enemy designed to besiege Alexandria, and that the Turks were about 15,000 strong.

In consequence of this information, Buonaparté dispatched General Menou to Rosetta with a reinforcement of troops, with orders to observe the motions of the enemy, and to defend the entrance of the Nile. It was expected that the enemy, elated by the capture of Aboukir, would become enterprising, and proceed either against Alexandria or Rosetta; but the General learned, with disappointment, that, on the contrary, they were forming a post, and intrenching themselves in the peninsula of Aboukir; that they were forming magazines in the fort, and organizing the Arabs, and that they waited for the co-operation of Murad Bey, and his Mamelukes, before they advanced. It was obvious that the enemy, in his then situation, would daily increase his strength; it was, therefore, important to take a position whence he might be attacked with equal advantage, whether he proceeded against Rosetta or invested Alexandria; such a position, whence, if the enemy remained at Aboukir, they might be attacked, deprived of their artillery, or bombarded in, and compelled to surrender.

Buonaparté chose a position at the village of Birkit, as one combining those advantages; it is situated

at the point of one of the angles of the Lake Madieh, and from which he could march with equal facility to Etoko, Rosetta, Aboukir, or Alexandria; from which he might, besides, confine the enemy to the peninsula of Aboukir; render his communication with the interior more difficult, and entirely intercept the expected reinforcements from the Arabs and the Mamelukes. General Murat, with the cavalry, the dromedaries, the grenadiers, and the first battalion of the 69th, left Rahmanieh in the evening of the 20th of July, to proceed to Birkit. This general had orders to open a communication with Alexandria by detachments, to reconnoitre the enemy at Aboukir, and to advance his patrols round Lake Madie, as far as Etoko. The army, as well as the head quarters, took its position at Birkit on the 23d, and miners were sent to clear the wells at Beda. In the night one division of it took a position at Kafr-fin and the other at Beda; head quarters were removed to Alexandria; the General in Chief passed the rest of the night in examining the reports of the situation of the enemy at Aboukir; he dispatched three battalions of the garrison of Alexandria, under the command of General Destaing, to reconnoitre the enemy, take a favourable position about midway between Alexandria and Aboukir, and to clear the adjacent wells. Near his intended station Destaing received intelligence that General Kleber was at Fouah, with a part of his division, and following the route of the army, pursuant to his orders.

According to the reports of the agents and reconnoitring parties, Mustapha Pacha, commander of the Turkish army, had landed with about 15,000

men, a large train of artillery, and 100 horses, and that he was occupied in erecting works and entrenching the greater part of his force. In the afternoon Buonaparté removed from Alexandria, with the head quarters, to a position near General Destaing's station and the wells between Alexandria and Aboukir. The cavalry, under General Murat, and the divisions of Generals Lannes and Rampon, were ordered to follow immediately to the same station; they accordingly arrived early on the morning of the 25th, together with a corps of 400 cavalry, from Upper Egypt; at day-break the army began to move; the advanced guard was commanded by General Murat, who had under his orders 400 cavalry, together with General Destaing, and three battalions, with two field pieces. The division of General Lannes formed the right wing and that of General Lannusse the left; the division of General Kleber, expected to arrive in the course of the day, was to form the reserve. The train of artillery, escorted by a squadron of horse, followed the main body of the army. The general of brigade Davoust, with two squadrons of horse, and 100 dromedaries, was directed to take a position between Alexandria and the army, as well to oppose the Arabs and Murad Bey, whose arrival was hourly expected, as to secure the communication with Alexandria. Orders were dispatched to General Menou, who had advanced to Rosetta, to proceed at day-break and take a position at the extremity of the neck of land, at the entrance of Lake Madie, on the side of Aboukir, in order to cannonade and keep at a distance any vessels of the enemy that might be on the lake, and attempt to harass the army on that side.

Mustapha Pacha had drawn up his first line half a league in front of the fort of Aboukir; about 1,000 men occupied an intrenched sand-hill on his right, close to the sea, this was supported by a village, occupied by 1,200 men, with four pieces of cannon. The left wing, which consisted of about 2,000 men, with six pieces of cannon, was upon a detached sand-hill, in front of the first line; this position, which was ill fortified, was chosen to protect the wells, that are most abundant near Aboukir. Some gunboats appeared to be stationed with a view to protect the space between this position and the second line. The Pacha's second position was about 300 toises in the rear of the village; his centre in and near the redoubt, which he had taken at the first landing; the right of this position was behind an intrenchment extended from the redoubt to the sea, for the space of an 150 toises; his left, stretching from the redoubt towards the shore on the other side, occupied some low sand-hills, on the verge of the sea, where it was covered by the fire both of the redoubt and of the gunboats; in the second position were nearly 7,000 men, with 12 pieces of cannon: 150 toises to the rear of the redoubt was situate the village of Aboukir, and close to it the fort, these were occupied by about 1,500 men. Eighty horsemen formed the suite of the Pacha, who had the chief command; and the Turkish squadron was at anchor in the road, at the distance of half a league.

After a march of two hours, the advanced guard came within sight of the enemy, and commenced a discharge of musketry. Buonaparté ordered the columns to halt, and made his dispositions for the attack.

The general of brigade, Destaing, with his three battalions, was ordered to carry the height on the right of the enemy, which was occupied by about 1000 men; at the same time a picquet of cavalry were sent to cut off the retreat of this body to the village. The division of General Lasnes was to advance against the detached sand-hill, on the left of the enemy's line, where 2000 men and six pieces of cannon were stationed: two squadrons of horse were dispatched to observe the motions of this corps, and to endeavour to cut off its retreat. The rest of the cavalry were to advance against the center, and the division of General Lanusse was to remain in the second line.

General Destaing with the force under his orders, charged the enemy with the bayonet; they abandoned their intrenchments, and retreated towards the village, but the greater part of the fugitives were cut down by the cavalry. The corps against which the division of General Lasnes advanced seeing that stationed on the right give way, and that the cavalry was about to turn its position, attempted to retire, after discharging a few cannon shot; but the two squadrons of cavalry and a platoon of guides cut off its retreat, and either killed or precipitated the whole corps into the sea. General Destaing's force then marched against the village, which was nearly in front of the center of the Pacha's second line, this post he turned while the 32d demi-brigade attacked it in front. The Turks here made a spirited resistance; a considerable number of men were detached from the left of the second line to the relief of the village; but the reinforcement was charged and routed by the cavalry, who drove the greater part of the fugitives into the sea. The village was then speedily

carried, and its defenders pursued as far as the redoubt, which was in the center of the second position. This post was a very strong one, the redoubt was flanked by a work which covered the peninsula on the right as far as the sea; another work, of similar construction, extended to the left, but to a small distance from the redoubt; the rest of the space was occupied by Mustapha's troops, who were posted on the sand-hills, and among groves of palm trees.

While the troops took breath, Buonaparté ordered several pieces of artillery to be planted at the village and along the shore, and a fire was opened on the enemy's right and on the redoubt; General Destaing's battalions, drawn up near the village they had carried, formed the center of the line of attack, and fronted the redoubt; they were ordered to advance. General Eugieres received orders to march along the shore, in order to force, by the bayonet, the right wing of the Turks. The 32d, which occupied the left of the village, had orders to hold them in check, and to support the 18th. The cavalry, which was placed on the right of the army, attacked the enemy's left, charging it several times with great impetuosity: it cut down, or drove into the sea, all before it; but they could not penetrate beyond the redoubt without being placed between its fire and that of the gunboats; from this terrible situation they were obliged to fall back, while the thinned ranks of the Turks were supplied by fresh troops.

The Turks deficient in discipline, but not in ardour, stood the shock of the French artillery with the greatest courage, but their resistance only stimulated the courage of the French cavalry to new attacks; at each charge they rushed forward to the very fosse of

the redoubt; and, though every soldier considered himself as sent upon the forlorn hope, they all seemed actuated by the infernal determination to do as much mischief as possible before they died. The adjutant-general Roze, Bessiers, chief of brigade of the cavalry guides, and Adjutant de Turq, were at the head of the charges; the chief of brigade, Daviver, was killed. The horse-artillery, and that of the guides, took a position in face of the enemy's musketry, whence, by a brisk discharge of grape shot, they powerfully contributed to the success of the battle. The adjutant-general, le Turq, judged that a reinforcement of infantry was necessary; he represented this to Buonaparté, who sent him with a battalion of the 75th; he rejoined the cavalry, but his horse being soon killed, he put himself at the head of the infantry; with this he flew to the center of the left, to join the 18th demi-brigade, which he saw advancing to attack the entrenchments of the enemy's right. The 18th continued to advance; the enemy, at the same time, made a sortie from their position on the right, and engaged the fronts of the columns, man to man; the Turks endeavoured to wrest the bayonets from the French; in despair they flung their own muskets behind them, and fought with the sabre and pistol. At length the 18th reached the entrenchments, but the fire of the redoubt, which everywhere flanked the trenches, behind which the enemy had again rallied, stopped the column. General Fugiers, and the adjutant-general, le Turq, displayed prodigies of valour; the former received a wound in the head; he continued, nevertheless, to fight; soon after a ball carried away his left arm, and he was constrained to follow the movements of the 18th, which, in the

greatest order, and maintaining a brisk fire, retreated to the village. The adjutant-general le Turq, having vainly exerted himself to determine the column to throw itself in the enemy's intrenchments, leaped into them himself—but he was cut down by a sabre, and mixed among the dead; the chief of brigade, Morangei, was previously wounded, and 20 of the 18th were killed upon the spot. The Turks, in face of the heavy fire from the village, darted from their intrenchments, in order to cut off the heads of the dead and wounded, that they might obtain the silver aigrette, which their government bestows on every soldier who brings the head of an enemy.

The General in Chief had ordered a battalion of the 22d light infantry, and another of the 69th, to advance upon the left of the enemy; General Lasnes, who was at their head, seized the moment in which the Turks had imprudently quitted their intrenchments, to storm the redoubt; he attacked it with the greatest vigor on the left flank and on its gorge; the 22d, the 69th, and a battalion of the 75th, leaped into the ditch, were soon upon the parapet and within the redoubt; at the same time the 18th charged the right of the enemy with the bayonet. General Murat, who then commanded the advanced guard, took advantage of the moment in which General Lasnes stormed the redoubt to order the cavalry to charge, and to break through all the positions of the enemy, to the very ditches of the fort: this order was executed with such vigor and effect, that, at the moment the redoubt was forced, the cavalry were on the spot to cut off the enemy's retreat to the fort. The rout of the Turks was complete, and they beheld death on every side; the infantry charged them with the bayo-

net; the cavalry cut them down with the sabre. No alternative but the sea remained; to this sad resource they fled, as a last refuge. Several thousands committed themselves to the waves; showers of musketry and grape-shot followed them;—never did so terrible a sight present itself: few of them survived! as the ships were too far distant for the greater part to reach them. Mustapha Pacha, the commander in chief of the Turkish army, and 200 men were made prisoners; about 2000 were killed in the field of battle; all the tents and baggage, and 20 pieces of cannon fell into the hands of the French. The fort of Aboukir did not fire a shot; all within were panic struck. A flag of truce was sent out, by which it appeared that the fort was defended by 1200 men; it was proposed to them to surrender; some were inclined to agree, while others refused; the day was spent in parleying; at length a position was taken, and the wounded were removed. Many of the French officers died of their wounds. In the night the Turkish squadron communicated with the shore; the garrison was re-organised and defended the fort; and batteries of cannon and mortars were erected by the French for its reduction.

On the 26th of July the fort was summoned to surrender. The son of the Pacha, his, kiaya, and the officers were willing to capitulate, but the soldiers refused. On the 27th the bombardment was continued; on the 28th several batteries were erected on the right and left of the isthmus, some gunboats were sunk, and a frigate was dismasted and forced to put to sea. The same day the besieged, who began to want provisions got into some houses of the village which

joined the works; General Lasnes approached to attack them, but was severely wounded in the leg; General Menou succeeded him in the command of the siege. On the 30th General Davoust forced the trenches, and those houses wherein the Turks were lodged, and, after some slaughter, drove them into the fort.

On the 2d of August General Robin made himself master of the trenches; batteries were raised on the counterscarp, and the mortars played with vigor; the fort was little more than a heap of stones. The besieged had now no communication with the squadron, and were in extreme want of provisions, yet they did not capitulate, but threw down their arms, and surrendered at discretion. The son of the Pacha, the Kiaya, and the Governor, were made prisoners; thus, a combination of talents and skill had subdued the energies of physical power. This victory had a direct tendency to establish the French dominion in Egypt, by shewing the dreadful consequences of opposing them; but they were rapidly wasting, and, as they had no means of recruiting their strength, a victory obtained at the expense of a few hundreds of men, was equal to a defeat. The General saw that he was likely to be assailed on every side, and that he could not strengthen one frontier without weakening another; but, from the prisoners captured at Aboukir he learned, with the utmost chagrin and mortification, that he was entirely superseded in the grand object of his expedition; for the English had penetrated his design of co-operating with Tippoo, and had overthrown that monarch, and seized all his territories, by which the influence of France, in the East Indies, was perfectly annihilated. Egypt itself had now lost

half its value, and the mind of Buonaparté, naturally sullen, retired within itself. He was never cheerful, unless to disguise the secret bodings of his soul; and he now looked upon none as his friends but those who soothed him with copious draughts of flattery. He saw but few persons, and conversed freely with none, Berthier and Menou seemed to have most of his confidence. He did but little business, and it was easy for any acute observer to see that he was conscious of having failed; but, though he regarded the expedition as having miscarried, he had not courage to believe that any other persons views corresponded with his own.



CHAPTER XIII.

Buonaparté changes his Name to Bonaparte.—A French Fleet sails from Brest—Great Maritime Preparations of the English—The French Fleet effects a Junction with the Spanish Fleet and returns to Brest, being Forty-seven Sail of the Line, without any Attempt to annoy the English.—Unpopularity of the Directory—Changes in the Directory.—Weakness of the French Army.—The French Retreat from Naples.—Admiral Nelson arrives with an English Fleet.—Treachery and Cruelty of the Neapolitan Court to the Neapolitan Republicans.—Various Operations in Italy.—Florence wrested from the French—Retreat of Macdonald.—Surrender of Mantua to the Allies.

THE hopes of Egypt were now all transported to France, whilst those of France were centered in Egypt; so powerful is the propensity in mankind to rely upon any other exertion than their own. It has already been stated that the communication between France and Egypt was cut off by the English cruizers, and the Allies had, by this means, kept the two countries ignorant of each others situation, an advantage far inferior to that of being themselves acquainted with the real state of the new colony; for it became evident to the British Government, upon the perusal of these dispatches and letters, that Buonaparté could not long maintain himself in the new settlement. Such of the intercepted letters as it was thought fit to print were published by authority of the English Government; and it appeared by these papers, that, from his entering upon the expedition to Egypt, the General had altered the orthography of his name, and descended from Buonaparté into a Bonaparte, all his

public acts being so signed. To the French Government it appeared highly important that a maritime force should be collected to enable the Republic to recover the command in the Mediterranean. Early in the spring the British had not more than 15 sail in that sea, the rest of the navy being employed in watching the different coasts of the ocean, and every harbour being carefully blockaded. The fleet in Brest harbour seemed so entirely unprovided with almost every necessary that no apprehensions were entertained of its daring to put to sea in haste. The news, however, of its being actually at sea, arrived at Plymouth on the 30th of April, when 14 sail of the line immediately set sail from Spithead, the greater part of which were appointed to reinforce the fleet under Lord Bridport, who had at sea 24 sail of the line and six frigates by the 10th of May, and in a few days after was joined by Admiral Collingwood. A squadron of five sail of the line and three frigates, was sent, under Vice-admiral Whitshed, to reinforce that of Lord St. Vincent, then before Cadiz; and Vice-admiral Dixon sailed from Yarmouth with five sail of the line to reinforce that before the Texel, and of which Lord Duncan took upon him the command, having received an additional force of five Russian vessels, under Admiral Tate.

The Russian admiral, Mackarof, had arrived at Sheerness with four ships of the line, and he set sail for the Mediterranean, so that, in the space of 14 days, Lord Bridport could muster, at Cape Clear, 30 sail of the line; while Lord Duncan blocked up the Dutch fleet in the Texel with 22 sail of the line, and Lord St. Vincent's fleet, including the reinforcements from

Whitshed and Mackarof, amounted to about 30 sail of the line. The route and peculiar destination of the French fleet were a secret in Great Britain; but, so formidable were the English preparations, that it could sail to no place without meeting with superior forces, and on the Irish coast with a force much more than equal. The Republican Admiral appeared conscious of the vast and formidable enemy he had to meet, and he endeavoured to augment his fleet by the addition of six Spanish sail of the line, from Ferrol; but this junction could not be effected, as the Spaniards would not venture to cross the Bay of Biscay, the squadron having on board 3000 troops; it therefore anchored at the Isle of Aix on the 7th of May.

Another division of the Spanish fleet, in Carthagena, was joined by the French, in spite of the combined vigilance of the British admirals; from this port they sailed through the Straits of Gibraltar, and anchored in the road of Cadiz, before the British admiral had received information respecting their movements, or the junction they had effected. They made a grand total of 47 sail of the line, and, about the 21st of July, actually anchored in Brest water. This naval expedition had something in it extremely daring, and seemed to portend a desperate stroke against Britain, though in fact it all terminated in nothing but parade. It was expected by the people of France that such a prodigious fleet would either convey sufficient reinforcement to the armies, capture the fleet of Lord St. Vincent before Cadiz, or destroy the British and Russian ships before Palermo, in the Island of Sicily; but the Directory did not think it prudent to make the attempt.

The conduct of the Directory had produced such general dissatisfaction that its destruction had been long premeditated, and the season for accomplishing it at last arrived.

The most active leaders of the conspiracy against the Executive Power, were nine members of the councils, Lucien Buonaparté, François de Nantes, and Boulay de la Meurthe, whose object was to throw out three of the members, as unqualified for their rank; these oppositionists were marked out by the Directory as objects of vengeance; this did not escape their observation, so that they did not deem their own houses an asylum, and viewed their lives in continual danger, except when seated in the councils as representatives of the people, completely sheltered by their constitutional inviolability.

So determined was the opposition of the Councils that their interest was daily obtaining converts, and the contending parties secured such means of defence as might render them victorious, should the difference require to be settled by force of arms. The Directory had a guard of their own, *ex officio*, and the troops in the environs of Paris were likewise subject to their authority; but the latter were gained over by the opposition party. The officers were peculiarly attached to the enemies of the Directory, and gained possession of the military school without much opposition, and made themselves masters of all the engines of destruction, which the Directory might have turned against them without such preparations. It was demanded, that three of the Directors, Merlin, Treilhard, and Lepeaux, should resign; three days were required by the Directory for the purpose of returning their definitive answer. The Councils had already two of

the members (Barras and Sieyes) on their side, and therefore laboured to procure the majority, as the easiest and least offensive mode of securing the object they had in view. But the three members of the Directory remained inflexible, considering that Constitution as their principal safeguard, which, in a thousand instances, they had made no scruple to violate.

By the 13th article of the Constitution it was enacted, "That no member of the Legislative Body can be elected a member of the Directory, either during the time of his legislative functions or during the year which follows the expiration of his functions." Upon inquiry it was found, that Treilhard had ceased to be a legislator on the 30th Floreal, and had been elected a director on the 26th of the same month next year, which made his directorship unconstitutional; which violation he frankly acknowledged, and, without any struggle whatever for the retaining of his authority, he voluntarily resigned his seat. On his resignation his place was filled by one Gohier, minister of justice. Merlin and Lepaux quitted the Luxembourg loaded with curses and execrations. Roger Ducos and Moulins were nominated their successors; the former being a legislator with whom the people in general were little acquainted, and the latter promoted to the rank of a staff officer during the reign of terror.

The Directory felt the necessity of arousing all the energies of France to meet the new attacks that the Allies were preparing. The Archduke had almost 300,000 men under his command; exclusive of the army of observation, under General Suvarrow, between the Danube and the frontiers of the Ty-





E. Abbé. Sieges.

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rol, which was 20,000 strong; the Russians amounted to about 45,000, which, with the forces under Had-dick, Bellegarde, Kaim, &c. amounted to the mighty total of 300,000 men, destined against the frontiers of France! The new Directory used no efforts to conceal the danger of the state; the Republic, at the highest calculation, had no more than 195,000 men to bring into the field, exclusive of the troops of the Batavian Republic, which amounted to about 20,000. In this situation, it was resolved to raise the army to 500,000 men, from every class of the conscription.

Battalions were formed in the different departments, and, by official calculations, it was stated, that no fewer than 550,000 men would be in the pay of government, and ready for action, in three months. To render these forces effectual without, it was proposed to form anew the national guard, of which the moveable columns were to be employed in the service of the interior, and for reinforcing the different towns and forts upon the frontiers; and a small part of those forces soon reached the armies of Moreau and Massena.

We formerly left General Macdonald continuing his retreat into Tuscany, after he had fought the bloody battle near Placentia. It would have been impossible for him to have finished this arduous retreat had General Suwarrow continued to press upon his rear-guard, for Klenau and Hohenzollern attacked him in flank, and thereby impeded his march very considerably; but the grand manœuvres performed in his favour by General Moreau turned Suwarrow's attention towards Alexandria. The division under General Victor occupied the passes of the Appe-

nines, in conjunction with that of Lapoype, after marching along the valley of the Tanaro, when the communication by La Corniche was completely covered, and nothing left to Macdonald to apprehend respecting the last outlet.

The retreat of the army from Naples was followed by scenes the most shocking to humanity; the majority were averse to Republicanism, and Cardinal Ruffo having assumed the command, was at the gates of the city with a considerable force, which he had collected in Calabria, and was joined by 2,000 British and 500 Russian troops. Upon this the Republicans took refuge in the forts, that they might have the opportunity of obtaining an honourable capitulation; they were attacked at different times, but repulsed the Royalists with the most determined bravery and resolution. Ten days afterward the Cardinal sent a flag of truce to such of them as were in the Castello Novo, and to those also who had made an asylum of Fort St. Elmo. This last place entered into a capitulation with Cardinal Ruffo, who assumed the designation of *Vicar of the King of Naples*. By one article it was agreed on, "That the members of the government, and the patriots in the fortresses, as well as the French garrison, and the national troops, should march out with the honours of war, with arms and baggage, and should be conducted to Toulon." But, as there was no dependence to be placed on the treaty of a Catholic, the besieged were not to evacuate St. Elmo till every article of the capitulation was faithfully performed by the conquerors.—The Republicans were detained in the roads for 17 days, owing to contrary winds, during which period they did not

experience any molestation; but the British fleet, under Lord Nelson, appeared before Naples, and blocked up all the ships which were appointed to carry the Republicans to Toulon, and the King soon after arrived, attended by two British ships of the line. He treacherously published a manifesto, declaring, that a negotiation with rebels was contrary to his wish, and done without his authority. He accordingly reversed all that had been done by Cardinal Ruffo, and several of the Republican party were hanged upon the spot, and their houses given up to robbery and plunder.

It has been said that the cruelties commanded by the King upon this occasion exceeded those which were the disgrace of France during the tyrannical usurpation of Robespierre! and it has left an indelible stain upon the character of Nelson, that this act of perfidy was sanctioned by his authority. The prince of Stigliano and the Duke of Carracciolo were beheaded, and 19 ladies of distinction, with a number of officers and ecclesiastics were hanged. The court was so ashamed at the reports so extensively circulated, that a refutation of them was published, but the bloody deeds cannot be denied. The Cardinal in vain protested against violating the articles of capitulation, notwithstanding he produced a letter from the prime minister, by which he received authority to grant the conditions upon which their surrender was obtained. Thousands were continually thrown into prison, and the tribunal executed the royal mandate with bloody punctuality. The Cardinal did not conceal his resentment and indignation, on which account he was deprived of his office as Viceroy, by those who considered it as im-

proper to keep faith with heretics, and imagined that the nod of a sovereign was sufficient to screen the worst of crimes.

As the rear-guards, which General Macdonald left behind him, were extremely weak, Klenau and Hohenzollern obliged them to evacuate Modena and Bologna. General Ott forced the garrison of Urbino to surrender, after a siege of a few days. Macdonald, therefore, determined to evacuate Tuscany, and again endeavour to retreat into the territory of Genoa. The right wing of his army was considerably weakened by the desertion of the Cisalpine General, Lahotze; and he suffered much in Florence by the insurgents of Arezzo. The Combined Powers, immediately after his departure, reinforced Tuscany, forming a junction with the Insurgents of Arezzo, so strongly reinforced as to form a body of 30,000 men, under General Ingherami. On the 8th of July Klenau made his entrance into Florence; at the time the people rose up in arms, and, having effaced every mark of the Republican constitution, they re-established their ancient government, a tolerable good proof that the sway of the French power was not quite so mild as it was represented by themselves. The last rear-guard was composed of the troops in Leghorn and Porto Ferrajo, who finished their retreat by the way of Sarzana. General D'Argubet prepared to make a vigorous resistance, and strongly reinforced the garrisons of Fort d'Antigano, which the Insurgents menaced, when he received orders to evacuate Leghorn. He capitulated with the Tuscan General, Lavillette, which embraced the safe retreat of the garrison of Porto Ferrajo, and the return of the sick. The Grand

Duke was re-established and General Macdonald finished his retreat, having been obliged to leave behind him or destroy his heavy artillery, camp-equipage, and the remains of the rich spoils of Italy, the army being now reduced to 14,000 men. After Suwarrow had formed a junction with General Bellegarde between Tortona and Alexandria, on the 26th of June, he called in the troops of Kaim and Vukassovich, in order to direct his route against General Moreau, who retreated from Novi farther into the Ligurian Republic, by the way of the Bochetta.

The main body of the Combined Army encamped on the river Orba, at the entrance of the valley of that name; a situation that served to protect Alexandria and Tortona. General Bellegarde was appointed to besiege the former of these two places, as Suwarrow considered the reduction of it necessary to his subsequent operations. The first parallel was completed on the 14th of July, and 21 batteries were ready to open upon it, when Gardanne, the Republican commander, received a summons, but refused to surrender; two hundred and ten pieces of cannon played incessantly against it; and General Gardanne, finding it impossible to resist the dreadful force brought against him, offered to capitulate, which the enemy accepted on the 22d, and the garrison continued prisoners of war, to the amount of 2,600 men. General Suwarrow fixed his head quarters at Alexandria, having to lament the loss of General de Chasteler, whose military talents had been highly beneficial to him. Moreau who had been unable to retire to Alexandria, extended his line

Westwards to the frontiers of France, without leaving either Genoa or the Bochetta exposed, and he preserved the other passes of the Appenines: his head quarters were at Culiano; and, having taken such steps as could alone secure the possession of the Ligurian republic, and the arrival of reinforcements, he resigned the command of the army to General Joubert. After Suwarrow got possession of Alexandria he again marched a part of his army into Piedmont, invested Coni, made an attack upon Fenestrelles, and dispatched General Haddick, with 12,000 men, to the Valley of Aost, in order to reach the Vallais. The Prince of Rohan, having received reinforcements, made an attack on Little St. Bernard, which occasioned a considerable degree of alarm, and rendered it necessary for the Republicans to retain a considerable force in that quarter.

The importance of the battle near Placentia (formerly mentioned,) gained by the Combined Powers, consisted in the unmolested manner in which General Kray was permitted to continue the siege of Mantua. The capture of that place was of the last importance, in the estimation of Suwarrow, as it would form a justification of his projects, rectify his plan of operations, and put it in his power to send reinforcements to the Archduke, in return for those which he had formerly received from his Royal Highness. Nothing was left unattempted to accomplish the speedy reduction of Mantua, and 600 pieces of cannon and mortars were destined to pour their thunders against it. The army of the besiegers was reinforced by two regiments from Austria, and a corps of Russian artillery; while the people, for 40 miles round, were compelled to assist in constructing the works.

In the garrison of this city there were 10,000 men, commanded by Latour Foisilac, who had been an engineer under the monarchical government. The attack was made by General Kray on the South side, who at first carried the outposts, the Ceresse, the head of the bridge covering the sluice, and the communications with the works of the Suburb du Thé, which was divided from the main land by an arm of the Mincio. Opposite to this suburb the trenches were opened during the night between the 13th and 14th of July; as soon as it was perceived that the trenches were opened, the fire from the city became extremely brisk, which, however, did not prevent the finishing of the first and second parallels; and the batteries were mounted in less than a week.

The main attack was seconded by others against the horn-work of the gate Pradella, and Fort St. George, on the opposite side of the lake, against which approaches were made at the same time. On breaking the chief sluice, and draining the water, to render easy the establishing of new batteries for protecting the passage of Bajuola, General Kray attacked the entrenchments between Ceresse and the Suburb du Thé, which he carried, sword in hand. The French abandoned fort St. George on the 26th of July, and the horn-work, commanding the entrance across to the Pradella was likewise evacuated, which the enemy believed might be carried by assault, after opening the third parallel at the foot of the glacis. In this situation the commander accepted of the capitulation which Kray offered him on the 28th, and delivered to him the keys of Mantua, of which the Republicans had retained the possession since the

month of February 1797. In two days after, the garrison marched out with the honours of war, and laid down their arms upon the glacis. Agreeably to the articles of capitulation, the garrison was to be escorted to the frontiers of France, under the positive proviso not to take up arms against the Republic till regularly exchanged.

It is no difficult matter to form a judgment of the importance of this surrender to the Combined Powers; as, while Mantua was in possession of the Republicans, it was impossible for General Suwarrow to carry on any decisive operations against Switzerland or Nice. In this situation of affairs, a new plan was adopted for defending the frontiers of France, advantageous to that country, and continually rendered more so by every moment's delay. Suwarrow's army, and that of the Archduke were mutually enabled to assist each other; and the surrender of Mantua, at such a critical period, was the severest loss which the Republic could have experienced. Nothing of any consequence took place in Switzerland; the hostile armies being so nearly on a par that it was thought nothing decisive could be attempted by either, without destroying the equilibrium.

CHAPTER XIV.

Various Engagements between Massena and the Archduke—Lecourbe gains Possession of St. Gothard—Bloody Engagements between the French and the Allies—Foubert killed.—Dreadful Battle of Novi. Retreat of the French.—The Allies take Tortona.—Sturzarow proceeds to Switzerland.

MASSENA and the Archduke were equally ignorant of the strength of their respective positions after the sanguinary conflicts before Zurich, till they attempted to dislodge the advanced guards of each other. The Archduke attacked Mount Albis on the 8th of July, and Massena gave battle, on the 15th, to that division of the Austrian army which was before Zurich, neither of which was productive of any material advantage. The left wing of the Archduke's army was entrusted to General Hotze, who made Klotten his head-quarters, and Massena stationed himself at Lenzburg, completed his lines, called in his left wing under General Lecourbe, whose rear-guard had been in continual action with such of the Austrian troops as were commanded by Bellegarde and Haddick among the vallies in the vicinity of St. Gothard. As the Archduke perceived, about the end of June, that strong reinforcements were sent to Massena, he gave it in charge to General Stzarry, who commanded on the right side of the Rhine, to annoy the Republican posts, and draw off their attention in the most serious manner towards the stations on and near the Rhine.

The divisions of the French army stationed at Offenbourg, under General Grand, were obliged to retreat towards Kehl, while other troops in the same quarter were forced to take refuge under old Brisach. Massena, in the mean time, strongly reinforced his left wing beyond the Rhine, finished his preparations for the defence of Basle, and enabled General Grand to adopt offensive measures. The Austrians, who had stationed themselves at Reschen, were attacked by the enemy on the 14th of July, and compelled to retreat beyond Oberkirch; and, at the same time, a bloody action took place between the hussars of Blankstein and different companies of Republican grenadiers. General Grand, two days after, made an attack upon General Meersfeldt, obliging him to abandon Offenbourg, and fall back beyond Ortemburg. On the 9th of July, Meersfeldt engaged the French, in his turn, after receiving reinforcements, and forced them to relinquish every advantage they had previously obtained.

Massena made several attempts against the left wing of the Archduke's army in the small cantons, as he was assured that it had been considerably weakened by reinforcing Haddick and Bellegarde, when a number of actions took place, during which different posts were captured and re-captured, and no advantage gained by either party. On the 14th of July a similar attempt was made by General Hotze with the Archduke's left wing, on the right of the French army. Little more was accomplished by these attacks than had formerly been achieved by the French, only the latter were able to reckon among the prisoners they made, the Imperial general, Count de Bey. This was the first operation of the Archduke's left, which could be denominated offensive, and had an intimate

connexion with others, preparing in the Upper Vallais, at the source of the Rhone, where the inhabitants appeared in arms to espouse the cause of the Combined Powers, and molest the posts of General Turreau.

The French Commander now found it necessary to rest and recruit his army, that it might be prepared to meet a fresh body of Russians who were advancing towards Swabia, under the command of General Rimfi Korsakow; Massena strongly fortified his right wing, under General Lecourbe, taking care not to weaken his center, stationed before Zurich, nor his left which was flanked by the Rhine. On the 12th of August, Massena began his attack on the Archduke's position, with the left wing of his army, in the vicinity of Baden; next day he took advantage of a thick fog to send a column across the Limmat, which succeeded in carrying one of the main guards and entering the camp of the cavalry, the Republicans pushed forward within a short distance of the city of Zurich, and penetrated as far as the rear of the Archduke's line.

The French were afterwards attacked by forces greatly superior, and taken in flank by two batteries, when they found it necessary to act on the defensive. The carnage was dreadful, as the Swiss of both parties were engaged, and attacked each other with the most determined fury and revenge. Massena withdrew his forces to the left side of the Limmat, and on the 15th the centres of the contending armies resumed their former positions. The whole columns of the French right, comprehending the division of General Turreau, in the Upper Vallais, amounting to about 30,000 men, directed their march against the chief posts of the Austrians. General Chabran, with his

colsson, passed the Sihl, repulsed the enemy on the West side of the Lake of Zurich, ascended the Heights of Etzel and Schinddelli, and engaged a corps of Austrians between Lachen and Einsidlen. By forcing General Jellachich to abandon his position on the lake and to retreat to Zurich, the French destroyed the communication between the centre and left wing of the Archduke's army, at the same time assisting the movements and attacks of General Lecourbe upon Schwitz and the whole course of the Schotten, from Altorf to the top of St. Gothard. Lecourbe had it in charge to repulse the troops under Simpschen and Jellachich, and he vigorously attacked the Austrian posts before Schwitz, on the 15th of August, at the dawn of day, when they were obliged to retreat upon Glaris, by the way of the Bragel Mountain; Lecourbe, in person, led on the attack against the post of Brunnen. A desperate action took place at the bridge of Mulhen, which the aid-de-camp, Montfort, carried, in spite of a tremendous fire of artillery.

Lecourbe, with a fleet of boats, proceeded up the Lake of Lucerne, in order to contribute his aid to the difficult attack upon Altorf, which he had committed to the chief officer of his staff, General Person. Some of the troops intended for this expedition took the route to Seedorf, and the remainder to Attinghausen, at which villages some bloody engagements were fought, as well as at Fluelen, near the Chapel of William Tell. General Simpschen was obliged to evacuate Altorf in the evening, who retreated by Schindellezzi, after he had destroyed the bridges on the Reufs. The same day General Loison reached Wafen, after a difficult march, by the way of Mount Wepcha, across prodigious quantites of ice and snow.

He reached the small fort of the Meyne, situated between the precipices of the torrent of the same name, and perpendicular rocks, through a narrow path, defended by musketry and artillery. The fort was defended by 300 men, which the Republican grenadiers carried by assault.

After General Lecourbe had scattered and pursued a few Austrian posts in the Valley of Maderan, he determined to ascend the Reufs, and got before General Loison. As he proceeded on his march he met with a battalion which Loison had sent to keep up a communication with him. At this moment Lecourbe united his forces, with a view to make an attack on the station of St. Gothard, and come up with the right wing of his army under General Gandin, who had received orders to come by the Heights of the Grimfel and the Furca. General Lecourbe having as yet received no intelligence from Loison relative to his attack on the station at St. Gothard, continued his route; and, as he deemed it impracticable to turn the passage of the Pierced Rock, he resolved to attack in front, and force the passage of the Devil's Bridge, across the Reufs, 20 miles South of Altorf. Having formed a junction with General Loison, he attacked the Austrians by four in the afternoon, when they fell back to their entrenchments at the Devil's Bridge, flanked by the torrents of the Reufs and inaccessible mountains. The French shewed themselves at the head of the bridge, and pursued the Austrians, expecting to pass it along with them; but, in the very heat of the battle the bridge gave way, and a hideous chasm of fifty feet obliged them to return, where they were exposed to a tremendous fire from the opposite side. The bridge underwent a thorough repair during the night, and,

on the ensuing morning, General Gaudin appeared on the right side of it, having descended the mountain of St. Gothard, by the Valley of Urseren. The Austrians, in the defiles of Mount Grimsel, resisted the attacks of the Republicans with the most determined bravery. The camp between Oberwald and Gueschen was attacked and carried by the French; and after Gaudin had rested a night on these icy summits, he prosecuted his march, by Mount Fucra, upon St. Gothard.

Thus was Lecourbe master of St. Gothard, and the whole course of Reuss, in the space of forty-eight hours, and re-established a communication with the Upper Valais, when General Turreau's division formed a junction with the right, and drove the Austrians beyond the Sempelen with great loss. In the mean time the Austrian army having retreated from Urseren toward Disentis, on the Rhine, began to rally on the mountains of Crispalt, from which they could accomplish, with ease, a descent into the Valley of the Rhine; and they succeeded in blocking up the entrance into the Grisons by the sources of that river, by the way of Mounts Adel and Splugen. As General Lecourbe was apprehensive that the Austrians would strengthen themselves in this position, he turned St. Gothard by Airold, and marched, with the principal part of his forces, after their junction, towards the Lake of Ober Alp, and carried, by force, the difficult defile on the way to Disentis, which was defended by three battalions of Kerpen, commanding the heights, and covering the outlets of Cimar, and St. Giacomo, into the vallies of the Rhine. This engagement was uncommonly sanguinary, and the hostile generals charged at the head of their

respective columns; the regiment of Kerpen sustained many dreadful assaults, but, was at last, compelled to yield to the Republicans, and only a small part of it made good its retreat to Disentis.

The Archduke made every preparation to strengthen his left wing, after its signal defeat, and brought up the first Russian columns which reached Schaffhausen, to be engaged in battle without any time being permitted them to rest. In order to draw the attention of Massena on the left, and induce him to stop the movements of Lecourbe, he dissembled his forcing the passage of the Aar, below Baden, and on the 17th of August began to construct two bridges. The work was carried on under the protection of the Republican fire on the left side; but the want of proper anchorage, from the rocky bottom of the Aar, rendered this measure impracticable. The first division of the Russians, under General Hotze, marched upon Regespurg on the 19th, with a view to put a period to the progress of the French.

Both sides seemed now preparing to act with greater activity than ever. It was the resolution of Suwarrow, in Italy, to leave no place behind him unoccupied, and to gain possession of the flat country. Prior to his attempt on the Ligurian Republic, he pressed the siege of Tortona, blockaded Coni with redoubled caution, and kept a watchful eye on the Republican posts at the entrance of the defiles, and little vallies of the Appenines. General Klenau, who had followed the rear-guard of Macdonald to the entrance of the river of the East, made himself master of Sarzana, Fort Lerici, and all the positions on the Gulph of Spezzia, where the Republicans were already masters of Fort St. Maria. Every part of the Allied

army began to concentrate, and met in the plain between the river Orba and Scrivia, when the arrival was expected of the army which had besieged Mantua, under General Kray; and the capture of the citadel of Tortona was to be the signal for future operations.

Joubert having received the chief command of the army of Italy, in place of Moreau, as already mentioned, was ordered to descend the Appenines, to bring Suwarrow to engage him, which movement was to be favoured by some corps belonging to the army of the Alps, now commanded by Championnet, who had baffled all the calumnies of the old Directory. Massena, in Switzerland, was to come to a general engagement with the left wing of the Austrian army, to force it to abandon the small cantons, and St. Gothard, which was considerably weakened by being extended; he was also directed to act on the right side of the lower Rhine, to force the Archduke either to come to the aid of General Stzarray, or prevent him from receiving reinforcements by the way of Swabia. This constituted the plan of attack from Schaffhausen to the Mediterranean.

It was on the frontier of Switzerland that the French Republic had most to apprehend, which induced the Government to send powerful reinforcements to the army in that quarter, which arrived in constant succession, by different routes, to unite with the centre and wings of Massena's army, while his antagonist, the Archduke, could not receive divisions of Russian troops by any other way than that of Schaffhausen, and whose periods of arrival could be calculated with precision. The reinforcements of

Massena were excellent troops, chiefly consisting of infantry; but, as they were unacquainted with fighting among mountains, the Austrians had greatly the advantage of them, united with mountaineers, Swiss, and Tyroleans, who had re-captured St. Gothard, and the Grisons, and the greater part of the small cantons.

In the meantime, General Joubert made judicious arrangements of the reinforcements which he received from the Republican government. The mutilated army of Macdonald, notwithstanding the opposition of the Allies, succeeded in reaching Genoa, but the long attempted junction was still prevented; the General repaired to France to enjoy a short season of repose, at a distance from the excessive fatigues and horrors of war—a tranquillity to which he was entitled from his having accomplished one of the most laborious and honourable retreats recorded in history. Joubert's right wing was commanded by St. Cyr, and the left by Perignon, which latter took the strong position of Millesimo, and, likewise, Murialto and Callizano in the vicinity of Ceva.

The centre and right wing of the French army were covered by the Bochetta, as they marched from Montenotte to Campotreddo, and pushed their advanced posts into the valley of Erro, and of the Orba. An advanced guard under General Dombrowsky, took possession of the posts of Gavi, while that of Serravalla was forced to capitulate. General Joubert fixed his head quarters at Campo Marino, and reconnoitred his positions, in company with Moreau, being resolved to raise the blockade of Tortona,

and to force his way into the plains of Liguria. He desired General Moreau to assist him with his advice and instructions before his departure, with which that extraordinary officer generously complied, and accepted of a command under the orders of Joubert. Having taken strong advanced guards from the centre and right wing of his army on the 13th of August, and posted himself in the vallies of the Orba and the Bormida, Joubert formed three columns of attack; the first took the route of the Bormida, marching upon Acqui by the way of Dego; the second descended the valley of Erro, through which the river of that name flows, and marched towards Castelferro, while the third marched from Campofreddo, and was to make its entrance into the plain Givi.

A fourth column, superior to the rest in strength, marched by the defiles of the Bochetta, under General St. Cyr, to whom Moreau had united himself as a guide, although the real object of its destination was to raise the siege of Tortona. The Republicans, on the same day, made a vigorous attack on the troops under General Bellegarde, who were in possession of Trezzo and Bestanga before Acqui. General Joubert, who pushed the left wing at Balsaluzzo, where he could cover the movements of a body of troops in the neighbourhood of the Scrivia, was determined to follow the course of the mountains on the right side of this river, and march directly against Tortona. This was a manœuvre which Suwarrow had it not in his power to prevent, unless he could drive the Republican army from their position, which he determined to attempt without loss of time, and accordingly commenced his attack



General Joubert

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on the 16th of August. The right wing of the Combined Army, under General Kray, began the bloody action, who directed his whole force against the left wing of the French, where General Joubert had assumed the personal command.

Scarcely had the battle commenced, when this gallant officer was mortally wounded by a ball, which pierced him to the heart, while heading and animating the infantry by his personal presence, who were enthusiastically exclaiming, "Forward! forward!" and General Joubert, to whose military talents and character every political party in France did equal justice, exclaimed with his expiring breath, "Forward! forward!" Novi, situated nine miles South-south-west of Tortona, was attempted to be turned by General Kray, and at the same time attacked in front by the Russian commander, Bagration; but their united assaults were ineffectual, when Derfelden and Melas, with the centre and left wing, were commanded to attack, the one by the road of Novi, and the other by the left or West side of the Scrivia; an attempt which proved equally as abortive as the one already mentioned, since the Russian commander, Derfelden, found it impracticable to gain the heights to the left of Novi.

All the hostile lines were now closely engaged; and, as was to be expected, the slaughter was prodigious. The troops under General Kray were driven back about three in the afternoon, with great loss; a circumstance which determined Suwarrow to make another attack upon the heights of Novi with the joint forces under Derfelden, Bagration, and Miloradowitch; but so determined was the opposition

of the Republicans, that they could not be compelled to abandon their position. During this contest the centre of the Combined Army was nearly annihilated by the charges of the French, which were sustained by Suwarrow with that ferocious kind of courage for which he was remarkable through life. As he could not force the centre of the enemy, he did every thing in his power to prevent its progress. Moreau assumed the chief command after the death of Joubert, and distinguished himself by his personal bravery.

General Melas, with the left wing, composed of 18 battalions of grenadiers, and six of Austrian infantry, reached the first heights of Novi, on the side of Bettola, sending the corps of Nobili along the left bank of the Scrivia, to turn the right wing of the Republican army. With the division of Frolich he engaged the right flank of the French, when General Lasignan received some desperate wounds, and was made prisoner. The Prince of Lichtenstein was ordered to pass the line of the French army to the rear of their right wing, and take possession at the same time of whatever intermediate points he might deem of advantage. Melas fortified this movement by strong batteries in the direction of the troops, which turned the tide of victory in favour of the Allies. Melas made an attack upon the post of Novi at five in the evening—a post which had already caused the effusion of so much blood, and which Moreau had strongly reinforced, to cover his retreat, which he now perceived was become inevitable; but which he did not accomplish till he was nearly surrounded. The communication with Gavi

was entirely cut off by the Prince of Lichtenstein, on which account the French army could only retreat by Ovada, 20 miles South-east of Novi.

At its commencement, the retreat was conducted with considerable order; but the road being blocked up by the artillery in passing through Pasturano, the rear-guard was obliged to halt, was thrown into confusion, and closely pursued by General Karackzy. Violent efforts were made by Grouchy, Perignon, and Parthenau, to rally the rear-guard, but without effect, when all these generals were wounded and made prisoners, and night alone terminated the conflict. The French had numbers to contend with vastly superior to their own, as well as equally courageous; but they fought with that fury which is the offspring of despondency.

The bloody battle of Novi left 25,000 men dead upon the field, including both sides, and the victory was not determined till Melas had succeeded in turning the right wing of the French army. It is probable that Joubert might have been yet alive had he waited with patience to ascertain the plan of Suwarrow from his first movements, and resolved to strike decisive blows only when existing circumstances evinced their necessity; but an insatiable thirst for military fame conducted him to his ruin. It will not be disputed that his place was most ably supplied by General Moreau; but it is admitted on all hands, that the loss of a commander in the heat of an action is never sufficiently supplied, although his successor should possess superior abilities.

The French army retreating towards the Appenines during the night, was pursued by General

Karackzy, who had made himself master of a part of the field artillery left at Pasturano. Moreau took possession of the Red Mountain, in order to favour his retreat, where St. Cyr was posted to defend the approaches to the Bochetta; and the Republican army rallied by degrees and resumed its former positions. Moreau repaired to Genoa, and urged Championnet to take upon him the command of the army. The honour of the victory of Novi was, unconditionally, ascribed to Melas, by General Suwarrow; a degree of candour which will do honour to his memory, since it proves that he knew how to give to military merit its just tribute of applause; yet the part he himself took in the battle was considered so highly honourable, that his own sovereign conferred on him the surname, Italisky, upon the occasion.

Suwarrow having detached his right wing, and given it in charge to Melas, to keep his eye on the movements of the Republican army, preserving its advanced posts on the Appenine mountains, took the route to Asti with the centre division of his army, to prevent the junction of Championnet's army with that of the deceased Joubert, or to force him to form it beyond the Alps, if he could not prevent it, and compel him to abandon the Ligurian Republic. These movements were intended to forward the siege of Coni, which the delectable nature of the season rendered it necessary to forward.

In the mean time the citadel of Tortona submitted to a capitulation, on the proviso that the place should not be given up to the Combined Powers till the expiration of ten days from the date of its surrender, unless it should be relieved during that

period. Every day now rendered the situation of Genoa more alarming; and Klenau, who had made himself master of Fort St. Maria, and Siftri-di-Liyante, proceeded on that side, while Admiral Nelson blockaded the port. In this situation of affairs a real famine was experienced by the inhabitants; but the French did not abandon this interesting and unfortunate city during the wars in Italy, which was at once the prey of the conquerors and the ultimate resource of the conquered. The Bochetta continued free from depredations, and the entrenched situation of the French army in the Ligurian Republic remained unbroken. General Klenau was eager to attack Recco, under favour of the British squadron, but he was obliged to yield to the superior prowess of General Miolis, who protected Genoa on the East, between the territory of Bobbio and the sea. Moreau was personally present in this action, supporting the division of Miolis with 1,500 men; the right wing of General Klenau was turned by the heights of Toriglia. Moreau engaged him in flank, while General Miolis marched against him in front. Klenau was compelled to retreat upon the mountains beyond Reppalo, after he had sustained a considerable loss.

The commander in chief of the army of Italy, sent as many troops as he could possibly spare towards the Col de Tende, by the valley of Barcelonette, with a design to make a diversion in favour of Coni and Fenestrelles, which were blockaded by the Combined Powers; his left wing being extended on the greater and lesser Mount Cenis, and Tarantin on little St. Bernard, and the valley of Aost.

The important trust committed to Suwarrow was

equally arduous with that of Prince Charles in Switzerland, opposed as he was to the skill and courage of an active, enterprising enemy. On the 1st of September the centre of the army was at Asti; his left at Novi, defended Tortona, and its posts reached within sight of the Bochetta. His right wing extended towards the Po, near Turin, and the other posts were reinforced which guarded the entrances to the valleys of the Apls. Championnet, in the meantime, carried on a war of posts with remarkable activity, one of which made its entrance into Suse, 29 miles West-north-west of Turin; a second got possession of the town and valley of Asti, compelling the Imperial troops to fall back to the fort of Bard, situated on the Dora river, 39 miles North by West of Turin. While it seemed to be his intention to attack on the side of Coni, and the Col de Tende, he forced a number of important posts, and marched as far as Pignerol, 19 miles South-west of Turin, and 24 South-east of Suse. Moreau having maintained his positions on the side of the Eastern river, in defiance of the efforts of General Klenau, he pushed different detachments as far as Basaluzzo, 10 miles South-east of Alexandria, and 16 North-east of Acqui, and made such preparations as evinced that he was still determined to advance.

Such was the state of things when the affairs of Switzerland obliged the commander in chief to send reinforcements to that quarter. The first column of the Russians began its march on the 8th of September, under General Rosenberg, who took the route by Novarra, intending to pass St. Gothard, by the way of Bellinzona. It is probable that Moreau had previous notice of this movement, for he left his

position the next day, at the head of 25,000 men, divided into three columns, the first of which was directed against Acqui, and the two others against Novi and Serravalla. Kray proceeded to meet him with his left wing and part of the centre division, when a desperate engagement took place, which ended in the defeat of the Republicans, and Moreau was obliged to resume his former positions. The citadel of Tortona surrendered to Suwarrow on the 11th of September, who having publicly expressed his gratitude to the Austrian generals, set out for Switzerland with the Russian rear-guard. When Tortona surrendered, Kray marched his whole army from Basaluzzo, where he covered the siege, marched against Alexandria, and afterwards upon Coni. The main body of the army under Melas, consisting of 35 battalions and five regiments of cavalry, assembled on the 9th at Bra, upon the Stura, because it was a position extremely central between the Alps and Appenines, calculated to stop the career of Championnet, and prevent his junction with Moreau, which he was seriously meditating.

Championnet was in the vicinity of Pignerol, when the troops sent towards Susa marched against Turin, to the amount of 7000 men; the left of the French army of the Alps took the route from Aost to Ivrea on the Dora, where the Austrian General, Had-
dic, was stationed, forming the right wing of the Imperial army. By these movements he menaced Turin, and the Austrian right flank, for which reason he marched in force to the entrance of the valley of the Stura, near Stalanch. On the 14th and 15th various engagements took place before Fossano and Savigliano, when General Goltzheim, with his ad-

vanced guard of 6000 men, was forced to abandon these two important posts ; but Championnet had not long retained the possession of them when he was obliged to give them up.

When Championnet was no more than a single day's march from effecting a junction with Moreau, General Kray, who had collected his whole forces at Bra, proceeded to give battle to the French army, which had advanced too far, and was almost insulated. The camp at Bra was broken up on the 18th of September, when Kray, with his left wing, marched towards Fossano, and Melas, with the second division, was to act against Savigliano, who commenced the action, and it was retaken by the right wing. Fossano was abandoned, during the night, by the French, who retreated to Maira, with considerable loss. General Bellegarde, repulsed, on the side of Rivoli, nine miles West of Turin, was supported by Kaim and Vukasiowich, who compelled the French to retreat to Susa.

Since Moreau's retreat to Savona, 72 miles South-east-by-east of Turin, and his endeavours to free Tortona, no operation of importance had taken place on the side of Genoa. In this manner did Kray defend and secure the march of the Russian troops, who were making the utmost expedition to gain the pass of St. Gothard, by the route formerly mentioned.

Championnet now left the command of the Army of the Alps to General Dubere, and proceeded to receive from Moreau the chief command of the Army of Italy, which was to be considered as united to the Army of the Alps. Before Moreau set out for Paris, to which place he was ordered to repair, he addressed

his army in an animated speech, and paid them many handsome compliments for their heroism and intrepidity and their laudable patience and perseverance, in spite of every trouble or calamity.

The total of Suwarrow's army in Italy, did not exceed 20,000, although it had received a reinforcement of about 10,000 men in the beginning of July. The army on its march was joined at Mount Cenere, on the 15th September, by Suwarrow, who made every necessary preparation for an attack upon St. Gothard, and to effect a junction with the Imperial commanders Auffenberg and Jellachich, who were masters of the frontiers of the Grisons and the small cantons, opposite to the advanced guards of General Lecourbe.



CHAPTER XV.

The French enter Frankfurt and levy Contributions.—The Archduke takes the Command of the Army in Germany.—Expedition to Holland, under the Duke of York and Sir Ralph Abercrombie. Various Engagements between the English and Dutch Troops.—Surrender of the Dutch Fleet to the English.—Great Exertions of the Dutch to reinforce their Army.—The Duke of York detained from joining the Expedition by contrary Winds.—General Dumonceau defeated by the English.

WHILST General Suwarrow intending to overwhelm the army of Massena on the Southern frontier of Switzerland, the French were about to make a very powerful diversion to relieve him on the North, by a new invasion of Germany. The troops destined to constitute the Army of the Rhine, were to be commanded by General Moreau, but were under General Muller, until the arrival of that officer. Muller fixed his head quarters at Mannheim on the 25th of August, his advanced guard taking the route to Heidelberg and Schwetzingen. He issued a manifesto to his army, ordering them to have a sacred regard to property, which in that unhappy country had been too often violated; and this was followed by another, addressed to the inhabitants, urging them to confine themselves to their houses, and beware of taking up arms against the Republicans, if they expected to find them friends. He then proceeded to Schwetzingen, and from thence to Winstock, and forced the Sallers, under General

Szeckler to abandon Heidelberg, of which he instantly took possession.

Baraguy d'Hilliers, with the left wing of the army of the Rhine, marched from Mentz; its first division proceeded to Frankfort and the second to Aischaffenburg. The division before Frankfort took possession of the gates and outposts, when the Republican commander insisted on a considerable quantity of clothing being delivered up to him, which he knew was intended for the Austrian army. Baraguy d'Hilliers imposed upon the city a contribution of 500,000 livres; after which he crossed the Maine, and, penetrating into the country of Darmstadt, he arrived at Heidelberg on the 1st of September, where he formed a junction with the troops of General Muller. Having united their forces, they pushed their advanced guards as far as Heilbron; but the dragoons under La Tour coming in sight, to co-operate with Szeckler's hussars, resisted the French, who were obliged to retreat, after they had either carried off or destroyed the magazines.

As soon as the Archduke was informed of the movements of the Republicans in Swabia, he sent, the 27th of August, eight battalions of Austrian infantry from Schaffhausen, part of whom took the route to Villengen, and the remainder by the way of the Brisgau. This aid was rendered more important by the rising of the peasants and the *land-sturm*, to which they had been strongly invited by the manifesto of the Elector of Mentz, who exhorted them to defend their own houses against the common enemy. The Baron d'Albini put himself at the head of the *land-sturm*; and the armed peasants, joining with the

Austrian troops, defeated a body of Republicans in the vicinity of Seligenstadt. The Elector allowed them the pay of field soldiers, which he promised to continue till the situation of the Imperial army should render it prudent to disband them. They were mixed with the infantry and cavalry of the line, in the ratio of ten to one, to be instructed in the military art.

By this means the Austrians received such auxiliary force as they had formerly solicited in vain; and the courage of the country people was now as great as their terror had been on a former occasion, and produced about 30,000 men, a greater number than it was thought necessary to employ. Baron d'Aibini intimated to the commandant of Mentz, that if he permitted any of the German National Guards to be shot, he would certainly retaliate upon all those whom the chances of war might throw in his way. This new raised army took its route across the Maine at Francfort, got possession of the banks of the river, and menaced the city of Mentz.

The territory of the Landgrave of Darmstadt was considered as neutral, and therefore respected, while, in his turn, he was faithful to his stipulations and strengthened the garrison of Darmstadt to preserve that neutrality. The French did not confine their threatenings to the inhabitants who had taken up arms against them, for they poured their vengeance on different villages, and laid Sinzheim in ashes. Muller having mustered his troops on the 3d of September at Schweitzingen, found he had 18,000 men, with whom he invested Philippsburgh, and commanded a bridge of boats to be transported from Mentz, to preserve his communications, and secure

his retreat. On the 7th, he began to bombard Philippsburgh, which was defended by the Rhingrave of Salm and an Austrian garrison.

The presence of the Archduke was now necessary to check these new inroads; he, therefore, resigned the command of the army in Switzerland to General Hotze, and relieved a body of troops, entrenched at Zurich, by a division of Russians. General Massena took advantage of the retrograde movements of the Allies on the lake of Zurich and Wallenfist, by pressing closely on their left wing; he again attacked the Swiss legions at Wallinstoffen, under M. de Roverea; but the engagement between the advanced posts was productive of little advantage to either party. Soult and Molitor assaulted the posts of the enemy at Uznach and Glaris, and secured for themselves more advantageous positions. The Archduke's army, now under Hotze, did not alter its position at Zurich, although the rear was thus threatened, but persevered in its movements by the right flank, and passed the Rhine with a strong body, a part of which proceeded forward on the side of the Brisgaw.

Prince Charles fixed his head-quarters at Donawschingen on the 4th of September, from whence General Stzarray had proceeded to the relief of Philippsburg. This was designed to protect Swabia, and check the progress of the French army on the right side of the Rhine; but, though the Allies had been successful during the campaign, they were incapable of doing above the narrow spirit that had been fatal to them in the whole war; instead of forming a new plan to meet the increased exertions of the French, it was their policy to

strengthen one frontier by weakening another. General Kray received orders to retrograde with the division under his command—this, with the Russian auxiliaries in Switzerland, those of the Prince of Condé, and the Imperial army under the Archduke in Swabia, altogether, formed a powerful barrier on the Rhine; but it was obtained by sacrificing the hopes that had been entertained on the side of Italy, for the forces of Melas were scarcely able to make a stand, much less to act offensively against the increasing French army. From no part of this petty policy could the wise men of Downing-street be excused; they had projected an expedition to take Holland; but, instead of generously advancing with the Allies, whilst they were yet able to make good their ground, the English first suffered their friends to be exhausted, and then, from a sense of mere shame, contributed their feeble help at the moment when it was too late to be useful. The grand expedition was concerted between England and Russia; the chief command was given to Sir Ralph Abercrombie. Twelve battalions and some troops of cavalry were collected at Southampton; and this force was soon augmented with *such rapidity*, that this *secret* expedition was known to be destined for the invasion of Holland long before the sailing of the troops. It was probably impossible to keep this affair altogether a secret; but it was so well known to the French government before it was ripe for execution, that it was *public* with them while it was called *secret* with the English: the principal points of attack were, however, well concealed. The chief station of the transports for conveying the troops seemed to menace Zealand, the entrances of the

Meuse and Scheldt, while it was presumed, on the other hand, that the Russians would make an assault upon West Friesland, and the province of Groningen, making their entrance by the Weser, and the Ems. This was conjectured from the great distance of the Russians, their tedious navigation, the great consequence of making a diversion on the opposite side, and the Eastern provinces, as these were considered to be best affected towards the re-establishment of the Stadtholder.

This opinion was confirmed from the forming of magazines at Bremen, and causing the officers of the *ci-devant* government of Holland to meet at Lingen. Every advantage might have accrued from this state of uncertainty, if those who took the management of the Anglo-Russian forces had been capable of improving them; for, as the power of the Batavian government was truly insignificant, and even that must necessarily be divided, the whole coast was equally open to the invader, and the most populous part of the country was evidently that which would give opportunity to the greatest number of the people to join the standard of the Stadtholder. Other considerations took the lead upon the occasion. The remnant of the Dutch fleet still lay in the Texel, which would, probably, betray its trust, could the British force the passage, reduce it to its own exertions, and detach it from the protection of the batteries. Admiral Mitchell, in the beginning of August, set sail from the Downs with about 130 transports under his command, which had on board the first division of the army.

The second was commanded by his Royal High-

ness the Duke of York, having the designation of Generalissimo conferred upon him ; but it was to remain at Margate till news arrived of General Abercrombie's landing at the destined port. This army to be commanded by the Duke of York, amounted to 45,000 men, including British and Russians. The naval force of the Dutch, at that period, consisted of nine sail of the line, under Rear-admiral Story, and lay at anchor in the Texel. Not more than 20,000 forces could be levied, without the greatest difficulty, by the Dutch government ; and France had been obliged to neglect the defence of Holland by the vast reinforcements which were required by the armies of the Rhine and Switzerland. Brune was their commander in chief, authorised by the Batavian government to take this office upon him by virtue of the treaty between the two Republics. He provided at first for the defence of Zealand, as he expected the attack on that quarter. Daendels and Dumonceau were charged by him with the defence of the coasts of Holland and the Eastern provinces, while he kept a body of troops in reserve for the protection of such points as might be occasionally menaced.

Contrary winds retarded the progress of Admiral Mitchell, and some of his vessels were separated from the convoy ; but it is not known whether the tempest was the cause, or whether they were intended to deceive as to the real point of attack, they only appeared on the coast of Zealand, Groningen, and East Friesland ; but the British fleet, on the 19th of August, appeared on the coast of North Holland. A summons was next day sent to Admiral Story, by Lord Duncan, who had joined the squadron under

Admiral Mitchell, commanding him to surrender, and acknowledge the Prince of Orange the lawful supreme of that country; to set an example of submission before his squadron, which would, undoubtedly, be followed by every man under his command; to hoist the Orange flag, and join the squadron belonging to Great Britain. He was assured that 20,000 men had landed at the Helder, but he refused to comply. A summons, of a similar purport, was sent by General Abercrombie to the officer who commanded at the Helder, which was also received with indignation.

The British experienced adverse winds till the 26th of August, when the fleet came to anchor between the mouth of the Texel and Calants-org, consisting of 15 sail of the line, about 50 frigates, and 130 transports. Protected by the cannon of the fleet, General Abercrombie landed his grenadiers next morning, together with his light infantry. General Daendels having united his whole forces at the Great Ketten, seven miles and a half South-west of the Helder, marched directly towards the Northen Sands, lying on the South of Huysduynen, and, when the British troops were on their march to this place, a severe engagement took place between the contending parties. Colonel Luch was killed upon the spot, during which period the remainder of Daendel's division, the 5th demi-brigade, a regiment of cavalry, and a part of the artillery came forward, in constant succession, and took a decided part in the action. The British vanguard was successful, from the constant reinforcements it received; and the Dutch battalion of Herbig, which charged with the bayonet, was taken in flank by the British light infantry.

This battle continued till four in the afternoon, when the loss of the British was about 1000 men, killed and wounded ; however, the Dutch had every advantage on their side, by fighting on the sandy and unequal ground of the downs, with which they were well acquainted.

For two days after this, Daendels maintained his position, his left wing being stationed at Petten, his right at Keten, and his centre at Zand. His forces, including the garrison of the Helder, did not amount to 8000 men, and he fell back, on the 30th of August, to Avenhorn, his left wing behind Petten, and his centre at Schermerhoorne, by which means he could easily receive reinforcements from the French and Dutch troops, which, by forced marches, were coming from every quarter towards North Holland.

Brune, now no longer apprehensive of attack either in South Holland or Zealand, arrived at Alkmaer on the 2d of September, and stationed himself to the left of the line. General Abercrombie in the meantime having gained the Helder Point, and completed the disembarkation of his troops, entrenched his advanced posts, and his left wing occupied the Helder Point, together with the batteries, which the Dutch had abandoned. The British at the same time got the command of the Texel, forcing Admiral Story to shift his anchorage and retire to the Vlieter, to be out of the reach of the hostile fleet. As a considerable part of the British convoy and frigates came to an anchor in the Texel on the 29th of August, Admiral Story, taking advantage of the favourable wind, determined to give them chase, or totally destroy them; in this situation of affairs, a spirit of disobedience was discovered on board the *Washington*, under the pretext



General Saville.

James Saville, Esq.

that it was the intention of the Admiral to blow them up. The powder room was in possession of the Orangists during the night, and, though an exemplary punishment was inflicted on a few individuals, it was insufficient to reduce them to obedience.

The British fleet entered the Texel, while the wind and tide favoured the movements of Admiral Mitchell, who soon got possession of the Vlieter anchorage, to which Admiral Story had retired. Thus situated, the Dutch commander craved a suspension of hostilities, that he might have time to receive the ultimatum of the Batavian Government. Admiral Mitchell, on board the *Isis*, frigate, answered the Dutch admiral by a positive command to hoist the Orange flag. Story gave the signal to prepare for an engagement, when, to his mortification, the crew unloaded the cannon, and threw the cartridges and balls into the sea. The only captain was Van Scaden, of the *La Batave*, who was able to affirm that his men were in a state of subordination, and that he would defend himself to the last extremity, if the Admiral would set the example. Story declared himself and all his officers prisoners of war, after speaking in the most indignant terms of his different crews, and protesting his inviolable attachment to the prosperity of the Republic.

The Orange flag was hoisted on board the Dutch fleet two days after it floated from the batteries of the Texel and the Helder. Independent of the fleet which surrendered to Admiral Mitchell, three sail of the line, five frigates, and five East Indiamen, together with the whole of the stores and artillery, were captured in the *Nieuve Diep*, an inlet from the Texel, on the East of the Helder, running into the sands, that are overflowed at high tide and dry at low, the length

about five miles and a half. The disaffection of the Batavian fleet was not unknown to that government, from which General Abercrombie inferred that they would be disposed to negotiate with him for the Prince of Orange, before the arrival of the French forces; on which account he requested a passport for General Don, from General Daendels, as plenipotentiary to the Hague. This was refused, and the British commander was desired to transmit his sentiments in writing. The Batavian Government sent a deputation to Brune, at Alkmaer, declaring their determination to defend themselves to the last extremity, a resolution which was supported by fresh assurances from the French Directory of speedy and effectual succours.

When the British forces were landed, General Brune directed all the troops under his command to proceed to Alkmaer by the way of Haerlem, and active measures were adopted for protecting Amsterdam on the side of the Zuyder-Zee. On the 3d of September the troops under General Dumonceau marched through Amsterdam, while all the troops on the side of the Hague, on the West coasts, and at the entrance of the Meuse, also filed off towards Alkmaer, by the way of Egmont. The inhabitants of every village appeared in arms; and, when requisitions were made for two, three, or 500 men, the complement generally raised amounted to 1000; and in some places every individual capable of bearing arms joined the army of North Holland; all this was, however, nothing more than would have taken place if the whole of the inhabitants had been desirous of joining the Orange standard. While these reinforcements were collecting, the British army marched forward and posted them-

selves in the Zyp, a very low and intersected ground, about nine miles in extent from North-north-west to South-south-west, protected by a dyke on the coast behind which they entrenched themselves.

General Brune, in order to concentrate his forces, ordered the Batavian and French divisions to change their situation by their left, and take a position before Alkmaer, pushing their advanced posts to Schorel and Groet, as near as possible to the sea and the advanced guard of the British army. The troops from England, had received no reinforcements, except about 5000 men, under General Don, from the division of the Duke of York; for the Russian troops had not been met at sea by those who were sent to direct them to steer for the Texel; they shaped their course for Yarmouth, and were there detained for some time by contrary winds; and the greater part of the cavalry, together with the Duke of York, were detained, for a similar reason. General Abercrombie had about 17,000 men in his entrenchments behind the dyke on the West of the Zyp, while Brune found his army had increased to 25,000; for this reason, Abercrombie was afraid to hazard a general engagement, till he could unite with the Russian troops. About this time General Vandamme came from Brussels, and Kellerman announced that reinforcements were on their way from the Low Countries.

The column of the Republican troops proceeded towards Petten by the way of Groet and Camp, where it carried the entrenched post, and arrived on the heights of Dubbel-duyn. The British forces were powerfully protected by two brigs and two frigates, while stationed behind the head or North-east

end of the Zyp Dyke, where they had erected strong redoubts. The dyke was turned by the French, who found themselves exposed, in consequence of this movement, to a tremendous fire. The French sustained a serious loss, but nevertheless, retreated, and defended themselves in Petten, which, however, they abandoned in the afternoon, and retired to their original position. The operations of the centre were accompanied with still less success; General Dumonceau took the route to Schoreldam, bordering on the South of the Zyp, and carried the entrenched post at Crabendam, but found it impracticable to force the entrenchments of the Zyp: some battalions were totally routed, and he was forced to fall back. The right wing marched forward with intrepidity, but was thrown into disorder by the exclamations of the Orangists among the troops, who cried out "Save who can, we are entirely surrounded!"—an exclamation which induced the greater part of Daendel's army to betake themselves to flight. This fruitless endeavour induced the French and Batavian army to resume its former position. The army of the Dutch received fresh reinforcements; and General Brune commanded the authors of the route to be tried by a court martial, and the behaviour of the different officers to be strictly examined.

CHAPTER XVI.

The Duke of York and Hereditary Prince of Orange sail from Yarmouth.—Various Engagements and Manœuvres of the hostile Armies.—The Anglo-Russians defeated.—Daendels defeated by the British.—The Duke of York defeats the Republicans, but is routed at Alkmaer.—He signs a Capitulation, and evacuates Holland.—The English take Surinam.

ON the day whereon the last-mentioned battle was fought the Duke of York set sail from Yarmouth, with 80 sail of transports. The Hereditary Prince of Orange made a feigned attack on two different points of the frontier of Overijssel, at a distance from one another. He gave a summons to the small fortrefs of Coevorden, on the frontiers of Bentheim, and marched forward on the side of Arnheim, at the place where the Rhine and Yssel unite their streams. From this place he pushed forward a party of his adherents as far as Wester-Forte, and Yssel-Oort, situated three miles East of Arnheim; but his endeavours were ineffectual, and the manifesto of the Stadtholder did not succeed in procuring the attachment of a single individual. The people, from habit, considered those the government who had possession of the Hague; and they had so fully expected that the first landing of the British would be at Scheveling, within a mile and an half of that place, that they doubted whether His Highness and the invaders had any other object in view than to get possession of the fleet; when they saw, that, instead of going home at once,

where there was no obstacle to oppose them, the Prince and his friends went round about at the extremities, where they could neither protect the people, nor be joined by them. His Highness was attacked and routed by the national guards of Arnheim and Oudenarde; and, having received information of the capture of the Batavian fleet, he set out for Embden, and there embarked, with his officers, to join the army of the Duke of York.

The position which had been occupied by General Abercrombie, and the experiment he had made of his station behind the Zyp, in point of strength, put it in his power to pass strong detachments, for the purpose of obtaining those reinforcements of which he stood in need. The fleet of gunboats, belonging to Britain, which had made their entrance into the Zuyder Zee, got possession of the town of Modenblich, which gave a considerable degree of uneasiness to the Government for the safety of Amsterdam.

As General Brune waited for reinforcements, and urged the Batavian Government to send the quota of national guards without loss of time, he rested contented with confining General Abercrombie to his strong position—a position in which he found it impracticable to prevent his receiving the Russian auxiliaries and the second division of British troops. The advanced posts of the French and Batavians pushed within musket-shot of the entrenchments, although defended by a number of small dykes. Every day the positions of the hostile parties became more respectable; and on the 15th of September a severe action took place between the advanced posts, inclining towards the centre of the lines at Warmanhuysen, of which the British had taken possession, but

were now obliged to abandon, by the exertions of General Dumonceau with his grenadiers and infantry. This event happened at the instant when the Duke of York arrived at the Texel, who, having disembarked his troops, united himself with those at Zyp, then making a total of about 22,000 men. Thirteen thousand Russians arrived from Yarmouth about two days after, under General Herman, who had no sooner arrived than he was ordered to take immediate possession of Petten, on the right of the line.

The Combined Army at this place now made a total of 35,000 men. Similar motives to those which influenced Brune to engage General Abercrombie before the Russians came up, induced his Royal Highness to attack the French army prior to its receiving the reinforcements, which were on their way from the Low Countries and from the Rhine. He made his dispositions with uncommon haste, and the Russian forces were divided between the right wing, where they constituted the head of the column, supported by the British, and the centre, with which they were intermixed. The column of the right, under General Herman, was to fight in opposition to the French column, commanded by Vandamme; Dumonceau headed the centre of the Dutch, and their right was under General Daendels. The centre and left wing of the combined army were under the command of the Duke of York, who detached about 7000 men, under General Abercrombie, to force on Hoorn, and march on the right wing of the Dutch, to surround them at the moment when Brune's left should be defeated by the Russians, and be cut off in this manner from the shore. These manœuvres were intended to flank both wings of Brune's army, and thus force

him to abandon his position at Alkmaer. As General Abercrombie found no more than two companies of infantry at Hoorn, he met with no opposition.

On the 19th of September the battle commenced, at the dawn of day, and extended along the whole line. General Herman, with a body of Russians and a division of British, forced the advanced posts of the French at Camp, and then pushed forward to surround General Vandamme's division, who was compelled to retreat. The Russians took Schoreldam, and Bergen in a short time after, which was the property of the Prince of Nassau, being surrounded with woods, in which the French concentrated themselves, having found it impossible to resist the attack of General Herman, who by this time was distant from Alkmaer about half a league. The Russians were now beyond the rear of Brune's centre, while the Duke of York, at the head of a strong division of British forces, and a number of Russians, made preparations for attacking him in front.

During these transactions, General Brune, feeling his situation becoming every moment more critical, dispatched the rear-guard of Dumonceau's division against Bergen, by a bridge of communication on the canal leading to the Zyp, giving orders to General Daendels to draw nearer the centre, which this movement had considerably enfeebled. The Russians having pushed too far, were suddenly attacked on both flanks by Generals Vandamme and Dumonceau, without being able to communicate with the centre of the British. Having surrounded the village of Bergen by the left of General Herman, on the side of the downs, and by his right towards Alkmaer, Vandamme engaged him at the point of the bayonet, and

the village was recaptured, after a severe contest. The Russians fought like men in the agonies of despair, and, when totally routed, their remains fought in the church and in dwelling-houses, where the enemy made dreadful havoc of them. Herman's retreat was cut off, himself taken prisoner, and General Essen, the second in command, was dangerously wounded.

General Dumonceau, although wounded at the commencement of the action, maintained his position, but his troops were desperate sufferers, as they sustained the shocks of the British centre, and stopped it from contributing to the aid of the right wing. General Daendels, posted at Oude-Carpsel, met with as warm a reception from the British as the left wing had done from the Russians; he conflicted honourably till past noon-day, when he was obliged to abandon his position, with a considerable loss of men and artillery. His division had been weakened by the reinforcements he dispatched to the support of the centre, yet he rallied his forces, and came again into action before the close of the day. He attacked and carried the post of Broek (four miles and a half North-east of Haerlem) and the batteries, of which he had been lately deprived, on the side of Oude-Carpsel. As the right wing of the Duke of York experienced a defeat, he caused his left to fall back, being too much extended, and also too weak, after the detachment, under General Abercrombie, had been sent against Hoorn. The general evacuated this place in the night, and the whole of the Combined Army resumed its former position at the Zyp. This retreat enabled General Brune to retake the posts which had been occupied by him before the engagement, and ought to be regarded as the last

rational effort of the Anglo-Russians; for the cautious populace, who feared to join the Orange standard till they should see it wave upon the towers of Amsterdam, now lost all confidence in the British commander, and considered the struggle as merely between the French and English.

About 70 gunboats, belonging to the French, having arrived from Dunkirk, by the canals of the Low Countries and Holland, preparations were made for the defence of the Pampus, or entrance from the Zuyder Zee to Amsterdam. The two hostile armies strongly entrenched themselves in their respective positions, and, from the obstacles they threw in the way of each other, became every day more formidable, both continually receiving reinforcements. The Russian rear-guard landed in the Texel, amounting to more than 2000 men, and a French demi-brigade marched through Amsterdam on its way to Alkmaer, while strenuous exertions were making for increasing the battalions of national guards. Little of importance happened from the battle of Bergen during ten days, in which time the Duke of York strengthened his right wing, which was flanked by the German Ocean on the West and the towns of Modenblick and Enckhuysen, on the Zuyder Zee, on the left. From these posts different parts of that sea were annoyed by the fleet of gunboats, and the British having got possession of the Lemmer, made a descent upon Friesland, attacked Staveren, and ordered Harderwick to surrender; but these childish efforts were attended with no beneficial consequences.

When the left division of the Russians arrived, the Allies adopted offensive measures; but, as Brune's



General. Abercrombie.

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army was still too weak, he waited for a division from the Low Countries, to be sent him by Kellerman, who was hastening its march towards North Holland; and no exertion was neglected by the Batavian Government to complete its battalions; from these exertions the defensive situation of the French and Dutch was rapidly strengthened. General Brune fortified the entrenchments by which his left was defended, particularly in front of the village of Bergen. This part of his position was made extremely important by the woods, with which it was environed, and the downs by which it was protected and commanded towards the North, in the direction of Schoreldam. The ground extending from the downs to the sea was favourable for the adoption of offensive measures, while it was almost impossible to penetrate his centre and right wing.

The Duke of York made a general attack on the enemy, with his whole forces, on the 2d of October. As he found it impracticable to perform any military movement by his left wing, or to risk an engagement in the passes, he again made a vigorous effort against the left wing of General Brune; the advanced posts of it, and of the centre of the French and Dutch army, were driven at first from Groet, Kamp, Schorel, and Schoreldam, places all bordering on the South-west of the Zyp. The attack of the Duke of York was in four columns; the right, which was composed of three brigades of infantry, nine squadrons of dragoons, and a detachment of artillery, was commanded by General Abercrombie, and took the direction of the sea-shore. Two columns, nearly of an equal force, and composed of Russians and British, took their route against Bergen,

and having taken the road at the foot of the downs of Camp, extended themselves towards the heights; and the fourth column was employed in retarding the progress of General Daendels. When the posts of Schoreldam were carried the battle raged with fury before Bergen, where General Gouvion commanded, who sustained the attack of General Dundas, and resolutely maintained his ground till General Abercrombie drove back as far as Egmont every thing that opposed his march, after passing Bergen, and attempting to turn the position of Alkmaer.

Egmont was defended by Vandamme as well as Bergen had been; but the Republicans in the night were obliged to abandon both places, after as sanguinary a contest as had yet taken place in Holland. With equal success the Allies attacked the centre division of the French and Batavian army at Langdyke and Koe-dyke; some gunboats, stationed along the canal of Alkmaer, were assisting in the reduction of Schoreldam and the progress of the columns. The Scotch Highlanders acquired distinguished honour on this occasion, for their courage and activity, by fighting in the inundations, and bravely surmounting every obstacle in their way to gain the flank of the opposing enemy. As the left wing of General Brune's army was severely handled by the division under General Abercrombie, and his centre broken, he deemed it necessary to fall back, which he did in good order, taking a position superior to his former one, with his left wing at Wyk-op-zee, and his centre division at Krimman-dyke.

The division under Daendels had not been brought into action, yet he found it necessary to imitate the example of the centre and left, and abandon the po-

sition of Broek, Pancras, and Oud-Carpsel, and to retreat towards Purmerend and Monikendam. The advanced posts were at Limmen, Baccum, Akerflood, and the head-quarters at Beverwick, seven miles and a half North of Haerlem, and 11 and a half South-south-west of Alkmaer. This station was taken possession of by the British troops on the ensuing day, who pushed forward their advanced posts on a straight line with those of the French and Batavian army, while Brune found means to secure himself in the position he had occupied.

When the British forces accomplished the defeat of the French and Dutch troops they threatened the capture of Amsterdam, from which they were at no great distance, with the left wing of their army. Two days afterwards the contending armies rested, but on the ensuing day the whole of the enemy's line was attacked by the Duke of York. If he viewed it possible to carry the concentrated position of Brune, it was extremely proper to prevent him from taking footing, and the stronger the right wing of the Dutch became by virtue of the inundations, the more interesting it was to push back the body of troops entrenched at Beverwick, 11 miles and a half South-south-west of Alkmaer. Some advantages were acquired by the British and Russian troops in this second attack, for they succeeded in carrying Akerflood, five miles South of Alkmaer, and proceeded as far as Castricum; but in this action, the fortune of war was suddenly changed, Brune seized a favourable moment to charge the enemy at the head of his cavalry, when he broke the line of the British and Russians, who could neither grant any mutual assistance, nor maintain the ground they had already acquired. With very considerable loss

they were driven beyond Baccum; and this charge made by Brune, who had two horses killed under him, contributed in a high degree to the success of the day. The battle raged till the evening, and the united army of the French and Dutch resumed its position at Beverwick. The Duke of York then called a council of war, when it was agreed that the army should fall back upon the Zyp, and there wait the ultimatum of his Britannic Majesty, which, all circumstances considered, was expected to be the evacuation of North Holland. The advanced state of the season prevented a change of operations, and the navigation of the roads of the Texel was become so dangerous as no longer to admit the sailing of transports; and the vast expenses, with which this expedition was attended, was not likely to be counterbalanced by any equivalent advantage.

Enekhuyfen, and Modenblik were abandoned by the Anglo-Russian army, where they destroyed the dock-yards, the marine establishments; the East India company's vessels, and whatever public property came in their way. The ships of war and their crews, that had surrendered, were all sent to England. The troops retreated in tolerable order, but, for want of carriages, were obliged to leave behind them a part of their wounded. While they were entrenched at the Zyp, the division of Daendels closed upon their left wing, annoyed their rear-guard, and took possession of the posts which they were obliged to abandon. General Dumonceau kept up a communication with Daendels, whose troops proceeded as far as Suydwinkel, and gained possession of the Zee-dyke, in which the British had made an opening of 19 feet—a means of defence they were obliged to take on this

desperate occasion. The French and Batavian army occupied a position near the Zyp, the left wing being stationed before Petten, the centre at Warmanhuyzen, and the right before Suyd-Winkel.

In this relative situation of the contending armies, the Duke of York sent a flag of truce to General Brune, and proposed to capitulate on the footing of an armistice, or the free retreat and re-embarkation of his troops. Generals Knox and Rostollan were empowered to negotiate, and drew up the articles of capitulation.

Such was now the situation of the British army in the Batavian Republic, that it was even doubted whether the troops of Great Britain and her Allies would be granted a free embarkation, till the official dispatches of the Duke of York dissipated the gloom which hung over the public mind. On the 20th of October his Royal Highness wrote from Schagen Brug, that hostilities had ceased, and that articles of capitulation had been mutually agreed to by the contending powers, by virtue of which, the troops of Russia and Britain were to be permitted to return to their respective countries without any molestation. Those terms were procured by the foresight of the Duke of York, who had taken care to keep possession of the dykes, which would have enabled them to have inundated the country in case of extremities.

It was granted by this treaty, that the mounted batteries, which had been captured by the Combined Forces, included in the line they occupied at the time of signing the capitulation, should be restored, in their original or improved state, and the Batavian artillery preserved entire which they might be found to contain. The British and Russian troops agreed to evacuate the whole territories of the Batavian Republic

by the 30th of November, 1799, without being guilty of any acts of devastation, cruelty, or plunder. Eight thousand prisoners, French and Dutch, taken prior to the present campaign, and particularly comprehending Admiral de Winter, were to be, unconditionally, returned to their respective countries; the selection of the prisoners to be agreed on by the two Republics. The loss of the British and Russians was estimated at 15,000 killed and wounded.

Thus ended an expedition, not less contemptible on account of its inadequacy for its object than for the season in which it was undertaken, and the manner in which it was conducted: Instead of landing whilst the French cabinet was distracted, it was delayed till the new Directory had collected its strength, and then, instead of carrying a force sufficient to encourage the people it proposed to aid, the troops landed by dribblets, just time enough to meet the French reinforcements as they arrived to receive them; and, to complete the folly, instead of their going to Scheveling, or the Meuse, where they might have seized the Government and been joined by the people, they got into a corner, where it was impossible for any person to follow them without declaring himself a rebel and a traitor to the existing rulers.

To counterbalance this disgraceful affair, it must not be forgotten, that the last of the Dutch colonies, of any value, in South America,—Surinam, fell into the hands of the English, on the 19th of August, in a manner similar to the surrender of their fleet in the Texel, without the shadow of opposition. This war in Holland had so perplexed the Directory of France, that it could not send such assistance to the Rhine as was necessary to carry on offensive measures.

CHAPTER XVII.

Various Successes of the Austrians, under the Archduke Charles.—Russia declares War against Spain.—Suvorow enters Switzerland.—Death of General Hotze.—Various Successes of the French in Switzerland.—They take Zurich Sword in Hand, and advance rapidly.—The Allies defeated, near Altorf, with great Slaughter, and repeatedly beaten afterwards.—The Allies Retreat.

MULLER having retreated from Heilbron, was reinforced by detachments from the different garrisons in the neighbourhood: however, he could not raise above 20,000 men; a force insufficient to maintain its ground before the superior army of the Archduke, who was on his march against him. The retreat of Prince Charles from Switzerland, with the principal part of the Austrian army, had not been productive of the designed effects, and Massena found it impracticable to derive the advantages he expected from the successes of Chabran and Lecourbe against the centre and left wing of the Combined Army. As the Archduke seemed to meditate the turning of the left wing of the Republican army between Brisach and Basil, Massena was kept in a state of uncertainty, which prevented him from either attacking the advanced posts of General Hotze, or the left flank and rear of the Austro-Russian army, without running the hazard of being himself cut off from the right wing of his army.

The main body of the Austrian army which was, on the 11th of September, encamped between Echter-

dingen and Waldenbruch, persevered in its forced marches. The advanced guard of Nauendorf, and the division under General Stzarray, had already sent their light troops against the advanced posts of the Republicans, who had abandoned Bruchsal, and raised the siege of Philipsburg. For two days prior to this period, they had endeavoured to scale the entrenchments of Rhinesheim and Wiesenthal, but were defeated with considerable loss by the Rhinegrave of Salm, and the town was relieved which he had so gallantly defended. The bombardment of Philipsburg lasted five days and five nights, during which time, it was reduced to a heap of ruins with the exception of a very few houses. It is supposed that no bombardment had ever been so dreadful since the commencement of the war.

Mueller evacuated Heidelberg on the 15th of September, and encamped before Mannheim, on the North side of the Necker river, after he had sent his artillery and baggage beyond the Rhine. The troops divided when they reached the left side of the river Rhine; 6000 men going North, by the way of Mentz, while another division took the route Southward to Spire and Germersheim, five miles West by South of Philipburgh. A rear-guard of 6000 men, under General Laroche, continued entrenched at Mannheim, and in such works as had either been repaired or imperfectly erected. With uncommon diligence the Archduke collected about 25,000 men in the plains of the Neckar on the 16th of September, marching, in person, to Seckinheim, and began an attack on the enemy with the forces commanded by Stzarray and Kospeth. These were driven back at the commencement of the action; but a second assault with the battalions of

grenadiers decided the contest, and a redoubt on the right side of the Neckar was carried, and all the remaining entrenchments at that place.

As the artillery of the Austrians had taken advantageous positions from the commencement of the attack, on the banks of the river, which had the command of the bridge of boats, the Republicans found it impossible to make good their retreat; the gates of the town of Seckenheim were forced open, and more than one half of Laroche's division were made prisoners of war, after having lost nearly the whole of the remainder. Successful at this place, the Archduke proceeded to Schwetzingen, than which no place was ever more frequently taken and retaken by the contending powers during the whole course of the war. Both sides of the Maine below Francfort were now in the possession of the Archduke. The head-quarters of the landsturm, or the militia, which were furnished by the Electorate of Mentz, was at Hochst; and the utmost exertions were employed to hasten the arrival of pontoons, and great preparations were making, with a view to cross the Rhine, the Archduke being employed in collecting the Austrian army and that of the empire, computed to amount to about 60,000 men.

The Republicans on the lower Rhine, with equal activity and zeal, caused the detachments to fall back upon Ehrenbreitstein in that quarter, which had formerly advanced as far as Weilburg and Wetzlaer. As it appeared uncertain at what place his Royal Highness would attempt to force the passage of the Rhine; and as Muller could not comprehend his designs, he circumscribed his operations by the protection of Mentz, fixed his head-quarters at Dork.

heim, 18 miles South-east of Mentz, and declined all communication with the posts on the right side of the river

The confidence of the Allies seemed to derive new vigour from the zealous support that the coalition received from the Emperor of Russia. During these transactions, he published a declaration of war against Spain, as an ally of France. It was no doubt his object to restore the old monarchy, by the assistance he rendered to the coalition, and the hostilities he carried on against every government friendly to France. The assistance given by Spain, was the ostensible reason for his declaration of hostilities against the court of Madrid, in which he maintained that, in conjunction with his Allies, he would not cease to act against the French Republic till he had effected its overthrow.

Denmark, also, about this period, had likewise incurred the displeasure of the Emperor; for which reason, every vessel belonging to his Danish majesty's subjects was ordered to quit the ports of Russia. Denmark so far yielded to the wishes of the Emperor as to circumscribe the liberty of the press; and all those were to be banished who should write against a monarchical government. Sweden went farther still, and, on the requisition of the Emperor, joined the combination against France, at least in appearance. But the King of Spain was not so near a neighbour: he answered Paul's manifesto with less pliancy,—he would always endeavour to maintain the alliance he had formed with the French Republic, and considered the object of the coalition to be an insatiable thirst for dominion, and a desire to tyrannise over every nation that would not accede to its ambitious views.

He declared, that Russia had always been most forward in the exercise of this horrid opinion, whose emperors had frequently assumed titles to which they had no rational claim; and finally, that the court of Spain would not degrade itself so much as to notice the incoherent and insolent language of the Russian manifesto.

Whilst the Allies were struggling with such unequal success in Holland and Germany, events of not less magnitude took place in Switzerland. Suwarrow gained the post of Airolo, at the entrance of St. Gothard, on the 17th of September, having passed the difficult valley of the Levantine, and the next day got possession of the pass of St. Gothard. Auffenberg descended by the Maderanerthal, or valley of Maderaner, with the troops under his command, Northward into the valley of the Rufs, in order to join Suwarrow at Steig. The entrance of this old warrior into Switzerland was admirably executed, and his success was the more remarkable, as his officers and men had lately been in Italy, and were not much acquainted with fighting among mountains.

Hotze had the command of the Austrian troops in Switzerland, consisting of 29 battalions, and four regiments of cavalry. Having been obliged to evacuate Glaris and Nessels, or Naffels, by superior numbers, he took an advantageous position behind the Linth, between Vesen and Utnach, having his head-quarters at Kaltbrun, while his left wing covered the entrance into the Grisons. The Russians extended in a North-west direction as far as Baden, from Utnach along the lake of Zurich, and the Limmat, a distance of about 36 miles. General

Turreau, with a division of Massena's army, was posted on the right of Vallais; Lecourbe was stationed at St. Gothard, before the arrival of Suwarrow; Soult was at Glaris with his division, reaching as far as Adlitwill; General Martin's division from that place to Dietikon, and that of General Lorges from thence to Baden. The Republican army from St. Gothard to Baden amounted to 64,000 men, exclusive of 8000 in the Vallais, and 6000 in Basil on the Rhine, both at a distance from the scene of action. After the arrival of Suwarrow the Combined Army amounted to about 80,000 men.

In the mean time Lecourbe had gained considerable advantages over the enemy, and Massena pressed with vigour upon their left wing, that he might the more effectually attack their centre. Lecourbe advanced to turn every position by the valley of the Grisons which defended the line of General Hotze. In this manner the Republican chief gradually prepared for a general action; and the news of Suwarrow's progress made him accelerate his plans, to prevent the enemy from executing the same designs on his right wing in the North-west of Switzerland, which he was meditating against the left of the Combined Army in the South-east. The position of Hotze was highly advantageous, and therefore Massena determined, if possible, to force him to abandon it at the commencement of the battle, with a view of cutting off his communication with General Jellachich, and of preventing his junction with Suwarrow, by the cantons of Schweiz and Glaris. To facilitate the execution of these objects, Massena feigned a variety of movements in the Frickthal and on the Aar; and, after he had engaged the attention of the

Allies by a pretended attack against Bruck, on the Aar, General Lorges was commanded to pass the Limmat above Baden, and engage the Russians on the opposite bank.

The division commanded by Mortier, and the reserve, under Klein, marched on to the heights of Regespurg, Westward of Zurich, and made their attack in front. At the instant the action was to commence, Soult was ordered to cross the Limmat, and come to an engagement with the advanced posts of the Imperialists. The impetuosity of this attack threw Hotze into consternation; when, having learned that the French had passed the Limmat, he mounted his horse, and, with a few officers in his train, proceeded towards the advanced posts, in order to reconnoitre between Schennis and Kaltbrun, where his temerity proved fatal to him, for his party was surrounded, and he himself remained dead on the field of battle. This was a serious loss to the Combined Powers in their present situation, as his skill was equal to his courage, and his death gave as much pain to the Allies as the fall of Joubert had formerly done to the Republicans. Born at Zurich, he was intimately acquainted with that difficult country, and might be said to have perished almost at his own home.

The advantages at first acquired by the Republicans were ardently followed up, and with their usual perseverance. They gained possession of the bridge of Grinaw, at the foot of the Brunberg, and entrance of the Linth into the Lake of Zurich. This post was retaken by the Prince of Wirtemberg, but he was unable to maintain it against the assaults of the French, after the loss of General Hotze. The Prince's division was defeated by Soult, who forced

it to retreat by the Goldiner Thal, into the Toggenburg. The left wing, under Petrasch, after the fall of Hotze, was thus separated from the centre, and the left flank and rear were unprotected. Equally successful were the attacks of the French against Zurich, for every post was carried by General Lorges, the camp of the Russians was forced, and themselves driven back to the walls of Zurich. Mortier and Klein carried the Western heights with uncommon bravery; and the Russians defended them with such obstinate fury, that the number of slain was prodigious. The Republicans were victorious, and gained possession of the whole of the enemy's baggage and artillery. The rear-guard, blockaded in Zurich, refused to surrender, which place was carried by the French, sword in hand. After this, Prince Korsakow retreated towards Eglisau and Schaffhausen, by the way of Bulach and Wintherthur.

The Republicans being now masters of Zurich, both sides of the lake, and the course of the Glatt, continued their pursuit of the Russians and Austrians on the East by St. Gall, on the North by Schaffhausen; nor were the Allies capable of rallying, or of taking any positions on the Thur, but were forced to cross the Rhine, and place the Lake of Constance between them and the victorious Republicans. The French advanced guard took possession of the towns of Constance and Peterhausen. Suwarrow, in the mean time, forced back the troops of Gaudin as far as Altorf, but his career was stopped by the troops under Loison and others, who had been detached for that purpose, by Lecourbe. He intended to penetrate the right wing of the French army, to march into the canton of Zurich, by the valley of the Linth, and, having compelled the left wing of Mas-

sena to fall back, to collect before him the two corps which had previously been defeated. This project was deemed interesting by Suwarrow, as appears from a letter he sent to the commander of the Russian troops, who had been obliged to abandon Zurich. "You shall answer with your head if you make another retrograde step: I am coming to repair your errors."

As it appeared manifest to Massena, that the wing of Lecourbe could not sustain the shock of Suwarrow's army, combined with the troops of Jellachich and Auffenberg, he set out to assist him with 15,000 men. Mortier was ordered against Schwitz, Soult was to attack Vöfen, and he himself marched in person to attack Altorf. Marshal Linken obtained some advantages to the left of the lake of Wallenstadt, took two Republican battalions, and attempted to favour the movements of Suwarrow by the centre; but, finding it impracticable to carry on a communication either with his right or left wing, he was forced to withdraw into the Grisons. Suwarrow penetrated no farther than Brunnen, two miles South-west of Schwitz, when it appeared to him that he had ventured too far, and was determined not to hazard a general action. The lower valley of Glaris, the passage between the lakes of Zurich and Wallenstadt, were entirely shut against him; and had he pushed forward to Einsiedlin, he would have found it impossible to avoid the snare which was laid for him by Massena, who, by surrounding his left flank, could have cut off his retreat from the country of the Grisons.

The Allies did not accomplish this retreat without great loss, owing to the difficulty of the passes across the mountains, and the rapid movements of their

purfuers. Their rear-guard was nearly cut to pieces, by the troops which Maffena marched againft Altorf; and their wounded, the number of which was immense, could not be transported. Almost the whole of their artillery and baggage fell into the hands of the Republicans, and the Ruffian general narrowly efaped being made a prifoner. It was reasonable to infer that this final attempt of Suwarrow to effect a junction of the two armies, would have been favoured by a movement of Prince Korfakow againft the left wing of the French army, fince the Allies had recroffed the Rhine, and marched upon Winthierthur, while Maffena, with fo much judgment defended his right wing by a part of his centre. The greater part of Korfakow's column had croffed the bridge of Diedenhoffen, while Condé's troops, and thofe of Bavaria, entered into the Thurgau by the bridge of Conftance.

When Maffena was made acquainted with this manœuvre, he gave orders to Soult to march at firft againft Rheineck, at the head of the Lake of Conftance, with a view to fecure his right flank, and flop the career of the Austrian forces under General Petrafch, which had already croffed the Rheinthal, and retreated to Feldkirch and Bregentz. He paffed, at the fame time, from the right to the left of the army, headed, in perfon, the divifions before Zurich, and met the Allies on the 7th of October, between the Thur and the Rhine, which laft river they were obliged to recrofs, after their advanced pofts were defeated. The bridge of Diedenhoffen was deftroyed, while the Republicans took poffeffion of that of Conftance, and purfued the rear-guard of Condé's, and the Bavarian troops, as far as Petershaufen. Conftance was captured and recaptured no lefs than

three times in the course of one day, and, at last, remained in the possession of the French. One half of Switzerland, all the Eastern part included between the Rufs and the Rhine, from St. Gothard as far as Constance, formed the great theatre of action; and in the space of 90 miles filled up with difficult positions, there was not one pass which could be called practicable, that was not disputed by pitched battles, and traversed by troops having one and the same object in view.

When the Archduke received intelligence of the battle of Zurich, at his head-quarters on the middle Rhine, he abandoned the pursuit of Muller, and marched with the greater part of the troops, leaving a sufficient force with Prince Schwartzemberg to cover that place and Philipsburg. The Prince held a council of war at Donaueschingen on the 4th of October, and a few days afterwards the forces of Austria made their entrance into Upper Swabia and the frontiers of Switzerland. The Archduke gave orders to General Nauendorf to take a nearer position in Upper Swabia, and to observe the side of the Brisgaw. A part of Korsakow's army filed off towards his left, by the lake of Constance; and Suwarrow, after receiving a considerable part of the artillery which he had left behind him in Italy, took the route down the Rheinthal to Feldkirch, and met the Russian generals at Lindau, four miles North-west of Bregentz. St. Gothard in the mean time was retaken by the French, who threatened to re-enter the Grisons, and capture the head-quarters at Coire. Thus, were all the brilliant triumphs of the Allies on the wane, and all the honours of the ancient Courts were, once more, sacrificed to their narrow policy.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Buonaparte's chagrin at the Reverses of the French Army in Egypt.—He receives Intelligence from Europe of the Distractions in France.—He resolves to abandon the Army.—He secretly leaves Egypt. The Address he left behind him to the Army.—The Letter he left to be delivered to General Kleber.—The indignant Dispatch of General Kleber to the Directory, announcing Buonaparte's abandonment of the Army of Egypt.—Estimate, by General Kleber, of the Debts owing by Buonaparte on Account of the Army when he quitted Egypt.

SEVEN long years had Europe now been spilling her best blood, without having advanced a single step towards her object, and without being able to devise any means by which peace could possibly be obtained. The Allies had coalesced, but were by no means united, and the French were ultimately tranquil, though very far from settled. Peace was equally desirable to both sides, but the different cabinets seemed to be cursed by such a spirit of blindness that neither of them could discern its true interest. Such was the perverse state of things whilst our Hero was shut up in the gloom of disappointment at Alexandria; and, though he could not foresee exactly, whether peace or war would be most conducive to his interests, it was certain that neither his interests nor views would be promoted by the defeat of the French.

So perfectly agreed were all his friends upon this point, that no doubt was entertained at Paris, that, if he could but be made acquainted with the true state of things, he would hazard much to return to the seat

of government, and would, in so doing, be able to recover the glory of France and add much to his own. The turn that the affairs of Egypt had taken deprived him of all further attachment to that crusade, and he was brooding over the disgrace and mortification that would follow his failure, when means were found of making known to him the events that had occurred, and the wishes of his friends. A person of nice sensibility would have been greatly embarrassed upon such an occasion, and the idea of deserting his companions and followers, just at the moment when accumulating dangers rendered his assistance more than ever necessary, would have been regarded by some persons as an instance of baseness and cowardice too shocking to be practised. Not so, Buonaparté—he wanted an excuse to abandon his project, and he had found one; he collected a few of his most obsequious followers, and, clandestinely, quitted Egypt in their company, without giving the shortest notice of his design.

As soon as he had resolved to return to France, Buonaparté ordered Admiral Ganteaume to get ready for sea the two frigates that lay at Alexandria; General Menou was entrusted with the secret just time enough to apprise the persons who were to be of the party to hold themselves in readiness to attend the General, and, on the 23d of August, at one o'clock, says Denou, “we were told that Buonaparté waited in the road; an hour after we were at sea.” At his departure the General left the following Address to the army:

BONAPARTE, *Commander in Chief, to the Army.*

Head Quarters, Alexandria, August 22d, 1799.

"IN consequence of the news from Europe, I have determined to return immediately to France. I leave the command of the army to General Kleber ; they shall hear from me speedily : this is all I can say to them at present. It grieves me to the heart to part from the brave men to whom I am so tenderly attached ; but it will be only for an instant ; and the general I leave at their head is in full possession of the confidence of the Government and of mine.

(Signed) BONAPARTE.

"By order of the Commander in Chief, and of the General of Division, Chief of the Staff,

(Signed) ALEX. BERTHIER.

A true copy. (Signed) SONNET, Adjutant General.

A true copy. (Signed) LE ROY."

This Address was inclosed in a letter to General Kleber, to be read to the army after he was gone ; and as the views of Buonaparté were more fully explained to his successor, we insert the Letter itself.

BONAPARTE, *Commander in Chief, to General KLEBER.*

Alexandria, August 23d, 1799.

"ANNEXED to this, Citizen General, you will find an order for you to take the command of the army. My constant apprehensions lest the English fleet should again appear on the coast, compel me to hasten my voyage by two or three days.

"I take with me Generals Berthier, Lannes, Murat, Androssi, and Marmont ; Citizen Monge, and Citizen Bertholet.

"Inclosed you will find the English and Francfort papers up to the 10th of June. You will see by them, that we have lost Italy : that Mantua, Turin, and Tortona, are in a state of blockade. I have some grounds to flatter myself,

that the first of these places will hold out to the end of November; and, I trust, if fortune smiles upon me, to be in Europe before the beginning of October.

“ You will also find, enclosed, a cypher, for your correspondence with the Government, and another, for your communications with me.

“ I entreat you to dispatch Gimo some time in the month of October, together with the baggage which I have left at Cairo, and my domestics. I should, however, have no particular objection to your taking as many of them as may suit you into your own service.

“ It is the present intention of Government that General Desaix should set out for Europe in November next, unless something of consequence should arise here to detain him.

“ The Commission of the Arts shall return to France on board a flag of truce, which you will demand for this purpose, conformably to the late cartel, some time in the month of November, immediately after they have completed the object of their mission. They are at present engaged in putting a finishing hand to it, by an examination of Upper Egypt. Nevertheless, if you think that any of them will be of service to you, you may put them in requisition without scruple!

“ The Effendi, who was made prisoner at Aboukir, is set out for Damascus. I have already written to you to send him to Cyprus: he takes with him a letter for the Grand Vizier, of which I enclose you a copy.

“ The arrival of the Brest fleet at Toulon, and of the Cadiz fleet at Carthagena, leaves no kind of doubt of the possibility of re-arming to Egypt. I have stores of muskets, pistols, balls, &c. of which you stand in need. I am provided with a very exact enumeration, together with a sufficient number of recruits to supply the loss of our two last campaigns. Government itself, I presume, will, by that conveyance, acquaint you with its intentions: as for myself, both in my public and my private capacity, I pro-

mise to take every measure for enabling you to hear frequently from France.

“If, by a series of the most extraordinary events, none of these attempts should succeed, and you should neither receive reinforcements nor intelligence from France by May next; and if, this year, in spite of all your precautions, the plague should break out in Egypt, and carry off more than 1500 of the troops—a considerable loss in addition to that which the events of the war will daily occasion,—I think that you ought not then to venture upon another campaign, and that you are sufficiently justified in concluding a peace with the Ottoman Porte; even though the evacuation of Egypt should be the leading article. It will merely be necessary for you to postpone the execution of it (if such a thing be possible) till the period of a general peace.

“No one, Citizen General, has better means of judging of the importance of Egypt to France than yourself. The Turkish empire, menaced with ruin on every side, is crumbling to pieces at this moment; and the evacuation of Egypt on our part would be so much the more unfortunate, as we should be sure to see, ere long, this fine province fall into the hands of some other European powers.

“The intelligence of the good or ill fortune which may attend the Republic in Europe, will, of course, have its due influence in determining your future measures.

“If the Porte should reply to the overtures I have made for peace before my letters from France can reach you, it will be, in that case, necessary for you to declare, that you have all the powers with which I was entrusted.”

“Enter then upon the negotiation; adhere strenuously and constantly to the assertion which I have advanced, that France never had the least idea of taking Egypt from the Grand Seignior.

“Require the Ottoman Porte to separate itself from the Coalition, to grant us the free commerce of the Black Sea,

to set at liberty all the French in confinement; and, lastly, to agree to a suspension of hostilities for six months, that there may be a sufficient time for the mutual exchange of ratifications.

“ Supposing, however, that you should find yourself in such circumstances as you conceive make it necessary to conclude the treaty with the Porte; you must then make that power understand that you cannot execute your part of it before it be ratified at home; and that, according to the usual practice of all nations, the interval between the signing and ratifying of a treaty is always considered as a suspension of hostilities.

“ You are acquainted, Citizen General, with my way of thinking respecting the interior policy of Egypt. Act in what manner you please the Christians will still be our friends; it will be necessary, however, to prevent them from growing too insolent, lest the Turks should conceive the same fanatic prejudice against us as against them, which would destroy every possibility of a reconciliation: this fanaticism must, at all events, be laid asleep, until we have an opportunity of extirpating it entirely. By gaining the good opinion of the principal Sheiks at Cairo we shall secure that of all Egypt; and, of all the chiefs which its inhabitants may rally under, there are none less to be apprehended by us than the Sheiks, who are all timorous, unacquainted with arms, and, like all other priests, know how to inspire the people with fanaticism, without being fanatic themselves.

“ With respect to the fortifications, I consider Alexandria and El Arish as the two keys of Egypt. I had once an idea of forming, during the approaching winter, several redoubts of palm-trees; two from Salehieh to Catieh, two from Catieh to El Arish: of these last, one was to be placed on the spot where General Menou discovered a spring of tolerable water.

“ Brigadier-general Sanson, commander of the corps.

engineers, and Brigadier-general Sougis, commander of the artillery, will furnish you with the necessary details of their respective departments.

“ Citizen Poussielgue has had the sole management of the finances; I have found him extremely active, and, in every respect, a person of merit; he begins to have some insight into the chaos of the administration of this country. It was my intention, if nothing occurred to prevent me, to attempt this winter a new system of taxation, which would, by degrees, relieve us from our present dependance on the Copts: before you undertake it, however, I advise you to make it the subject of long and deliberate meditation; it is safer to begin an operation of this nature a little too late than a little too soon.

“ Our ships of war will certainly make their appearance this winter, either at Alexandria, Brulos, or Damietta. You must have a battery and a signal-tower at Brulos. Endeavour to get together five or six hundred Mameloucs, in such a manner, that, when the French fleet arrives, you may be able to lay your hands upon them at the same instant of time, either at Cairo or in the other provinces, and send them off immediately for France*. If you cannot procure Mameloucs, such Arab hostages, Cheiks el Beléd as may then be in custody, no matter on what account, will answer the end as well. These people, landed in France, and detained there for a year or two, will contemplate the grandeur of the nation; they will acquire, in some degree, our manners and our language, and when they return to Egypt, will prove to us so many partisans.

“ I have already repeatedly written for a company of comedians; I will take particular care that they shall be sent.

“ * It is impossible to conceive a scheme of blacker or more diabolical perfidy than Buonaparté here plans for Kleber. Five or six hundred innocent people, living without suspicion or fear, under the protection of the French, are to be torn from their country, their families, and friends, and hurried off to France, under a pretence equally absurd and iniquitous.”

This appears to me an article of the utmost consequence, not only for the army, but for the purpose of effecting something like a change in the moral habits of the country.

“ The important situation of Commander in Chief, which has now devolved upon you, will afford you ample opportunities of displaying those talents with which nature has endowed you. The interest taken in everything which passes here is active and lively; and the consequences resulting from it will be immense, whether considered with respect to commerce or to civilization. This is, assuredly, the epoch from whence revolutions of the most extraordinary nature will take their date.

“ Accustomed to look for the recompense of the toils and difficulties of life in the opinion of posterity, I abandon Egypt with the deepest regret ! The honour and interests of my country, duty, and the extraordinary events which have recently taken place there ; these, and these alone, have determined me to hazard a passage to Europe, through the midst of the enemy's squadrons : in heart and in spirit I shall still be in the midst of you. Your victories will be as dear to me as any in which I may be personally engaged ; and I shall look upon that day of my life as ill employed in which I shall not do something for the army of which I leave you the command ; and for the consolidation of the magnificent establishment, the foundation of which is so recently laid.

“ The army I entrust to your care, is entirely composed of my own children. I have never ceased, even in the midst of their most trying difficulties and dangers, to receive proofs of their attachment ; endeavour to preserve them still in those sentiments for me. This is due to the particular esteem and friendship I entertain for you, and to the unfeigned affection I feel for them !”

(Signed)

BONAPARTE.

A true Copy. KLEBER.

Whatever reflections arise out of this Epistle, they seem to have been anticipated so sensibly by General

Kleber, that truth absolutely demands them to be given in his own words. That officer seems to have felt the greatest indignation that Buonaparté should have attempted to dupe him, and the French nation, by ascribing his departure to honourable motives. Kleber's Letter is addressed to the Directory, and is at once a curious piece of criticism upon that of Buonaparté, and an interesting picture of the state of Egypt at the time of his desertion.

LIBERTY !

EQUALITY !

FRENCH REPUBLIC.

KLEBER, *Commander in Chief, to the* DIRECTORY.

Head Quarters, Cairo, October 7th, 1799.

“ THE Commander in Chief, Buonaparté, quitted this country for France, on the morning of the 23d ult. without saying a word of his intention to any person whatever. He had appointed me to meet him at Rosetta on the subsequent day: (the 24th.) I found nothing there but his dispatches. Unable to divine whether the General has had the good fortune to reach Toulon, I think it incumbent on me to send you a copy of the Letter, by which he transferred to me the command of the army, as also of another, which he had addressed to the Grand Vizier at Constantinople, although he knew perfectly well that this officer was already arrived at Damascus.

“ My first cares have been directed to obtain an accurate knowledge of the present condition of the army.

— “ You know, Citizen Directors, and you have it in your power to procure the requisite statements; you know, I say, the actual strength of the army at its arrival in Egypt: it is reduced a full half!—and we occupy all the capital points of the great triangle, from the Cataracts to El Arisch, from El Arisch to Alexandria, and from Alexandria again to the Cataracts; meanwhile, it is no longer a question, as it once was, of contending with a few hordes

of dispirited Mameloucs ; but, of resisting and combating the united efforts of three great powers, the Porte, England, and Russia.

“ The absolute want of arms, of gunpowder, of cannon, and musket-balls, presents a picture no less alarming than the prodigious and rapid diminution of our numbers. Our attempts to establish a foundry, have failed of success ; and the manufactory of powder, which we set on foot at Ilhoda, has not, hitherto, kept pace, in any degree, with our expectations ; in all probability it never will. Add to this, that the repairing of our small arms proceeds but slowly ; and that, to give the necessary activity to these various undertakings, money and means, of which we have neither, are absolutely indispensable.

“ The troops are naked, and this privation of clothing is the more calamitous, as it is perfectly ascertained, in this country, to be one of the most active causes of the dysenteries and ophthalmies which constantly prevail here. The first, in particular, has operated with an alarming effect this season, on bodies already weakened and exhausted by fatigue. The members of the Board of Health remark, (and never fail to mention it in their reports,) that, although the army is so much diminished, the number on the sick list is considerably larger this year than at the same period of the last.

“ General Buonaparté, previous to his departure, had, it is true, given orders for new clothing the army : but, for this, as well as for a great many other projects, he contented himself with the mere orders :—the poverty of the finances, which is a new obstacle to be combated, reduced him, doubtless, to the necessity of adjourning the execution of this useful design.

“ Now I have mentioned the finances, I feel it my duty to say somewhat more on the subject.

“ General Buonaparté exhausted the extraordinary resources within a few months after our arrival ! He levied at that time as extensive a military contribution as the

country could possibly support ! To have recourse a second time to this expedient, now, that we are surrounded with enemies from without, would only pave the way for an insurrection the first favourable moment.

“ Notwithstanding all this, Buonaparté, at quitting us, did not leave behind him a single sou in the military chest, nor anything capable of being turned into money ! He left, on the contrary, a debt of near ten millions, more than a whole year’s income in the present state of things : the pay of the army alone, is in arrear, full 4,000,000 !

“ The present state of the inundation makes it impossible to recover the deficiencies of the year just expired ; and which, if it were not so, would scarce answer the expenses of a month : we cannot, therefore, enter again on the collection of the taxes till the end of November ; and, even then, it is clear to me, that we shall not be in a condition to attend sufficiently to it, because we shall have our hands full of fighting. In a word, the Nile being very low this year, many provinces, deprived of the inundation, will claim the customary exemptions, to which we cannot, in common justice, object.

“ Every syllable, Citizen Directors, which I here advance, I can authenticate, either by verbal processes, or by estimates of the different services, regularly signed.

“ Although Egypt is, to all appearance, tranquil, it is nothing less than in a state of submission ; the people are restless and uneasy ; and, in spite of all we can do to the contrary, persist in looking upon us as the enemies of their property ; their hearts are incessantly open to the hopes of a favourable change.

“ The Mamelukes are dispersed, but not destroyed. They are still in Upper Egypt with a body of men, sufficient & numerous to find constant employment for a considerable part of our forces. If we should quit him for an instant his little army would increase with inconceivable rapidity ; and he would descend the Nile, and harass us at the gates of this capital ; where, in spite of

the most vigilant attention, they have constantly found means, to this very hour, to procure him supplies of arms and money.

“ Ibrahim Bey is at Gaza, with about two thousand Mamelukes; and I am informed that 30,000 men, part of the army of the Grand Vizier and Djezzar Pasha, are also arrived at the same place. The Grand Vizier left Damascus about three weeks ago; he is at present encamped near Acre: finally, the English are masters of the Red Sea.

“ Such, Citizen Directors, is the situation in which General Buonaparté has left me to sustain the enormous burden of commanding the army of the East! He saw the fatal crisis approaching; your orders have not permitted him to surmount it. That such a crisis exists, his letters, his instructions, his negotiation, lately set on foot, all contribute to evince; it is of public notoriety, and our enemies appear to me no less perfectly informed of it than ourselves.

‘ If this year,’ says General Buonaparté, ‘ in spite of all my precautions, the plague should break out in Egypt, and carry off more than fifteen hundred men, &c. I then think that you ought not to venture upon another campaign, and that you are sufficiently justified in concluding a peace with the Ottoman Porte, even though the evacuation of Egypt should be the leading article,’ &c.

“ I have pointed out this passage to you, Citizen Directors, because, it is characteristic in more than one point of view; and, above all, because it clearly shows you the real situation in which I am placed. Of what consequence are 1,500 men, more or less, in the immense space of country which I have to defend, and against an eternal repetition of attacks?

“ The General further says, ‘ Alexandria and El Arish, are the two keys of Egypt.’ El Arish is thirty-four days journey in the Desert; the probability of victualling it will not allow of its being garrisoned by more than 250 men. Six hundred Mamelukes still remain

might, whenever they pleased, cut off all communication with Catiez ; and as, when Buonaparté left us, this garrison had but a fortnight's provision in advance ; just that space of time, and no more, would be sufficient to compel it to capitulate, without firing a shot ! The Arabs alone were capable of furnishing regular convoys of provisions through these burning deserts ; but, they have been so often overreached and defrauded, that, far from offering us their services, they now keep aloof and conceal themselves ; besides, the arrival of the Grand Vizier, who inflames their fanaticism, and overwhelms them with presents, will equally tend to incline them to desert us.

“ Alexandria is by no means a fortress ; it is a large intrenched camp. It was, indeed, tolerably well defended by a numerous heavy artillery ; but, since we lost it in the disastrous invasion of Syria, and since General Buonaparté has taken all the cannon belonging to the shipping, to complete the equipment of the two frigates with which he sailed for France, this camp can make, in fact, but a feeble resistance.

“ General Buonaparté deceived himself with regard to the consequences which he expected from his victory at Aboukir. He cut to pieces, it is true, near nine thousand Turks who had landed there ; but, what is such a loss as this to a great nation, from whom we have violently torn the fairest portion of its empire ; and whom religion, honour, and interest, equally stimulate to avenge its injuries, and to re-conquer what it has been thus deprived of ? As a proof of what I say, this victory has not retarded, for a single instant, either the preparations, or the march of the Grand Vizier.

“ In this state of things, what can, and what ought I to do ? I think, Citizen Directors, that I should continue the negotiations entered upon by Buonaparté ; though the result should be merely the gaining a little time, I should even then have sufficient reason to be satisfied with it. I have inclosed you the Letter which, in consequence of this determination, I wrote to the Grand Vizier ; sending

him, at the same time, a duplicate of that from Bonaparté.

“ If this minister meets my advances I shall propose to him the restitution of Egypt, on the following conditions :

“ “ The Grand Seignior shall appoint a Pasha, as before.

“ “ The Beys shall give up to him the Miri, which the Porte has had always *de jure*, and never *de facto*.

“ “ Commerce shall be reciprocally open between Egypt and Syria.

“ “ The French shall continue in the country, occupy the strong holds and the forts, and collect all the duties and customs till the French Government shall have made peace with England.

“ If these summary preliminaries are accepted, I shall think I have rendered my country a greater service than if I had obtained the most brilliant victory. But I fear they will not be attended to: if the haughtiness of the Turks opposes no obstacle, I shall still have to combat the influence of English gold. Happen what may, I will endeavour to direct myself by circumstances.

“ I know all the importance of the possession of Egypt. I used to say in Europe, that this country was for France the point of fixture, by means of which she might move, at will, the commercial system of every quarter of the globe; but, to do this effectually, a powerful lever is required, and that lever is a navy: ours has existed! Since that period, every thing has changed; and peace with the Porte is, in my opinion, the only expedient that holds out to us a method of fairly getting rid of an enterprise no longer capable of attaining the object for which it was undertaken.

“ I shall not enter, Citizen Directors, into the details of all the diplomatic combinations which the present state of Europe might furnish: this is not my province. In the forlorn situation in which I stand, and so far removed from

the centre of action, I can scarce give a thought to anything but the safety and honour of the army which I command: happy if, in the midst of my distresses, I should have the good fortune to meet your wishes; at a less distance from you, I should place all my glory in obedience.

"I have annexed to this, an exact estimate of the more material articles of which we stand in need for the service of the artillery; and, also a summary recapitulation of the debt contracted, and left unpaid by General Bonaparté.

Health and respect.

KLEBER."

"P. S. At this instant, Citizen Directors, just as I am making up my dispatches, I learn that fourteen or fifteen Turkish vessels are at anchor before Damietta, where they are waiting for the fleet of the Captain Pasha, now at Joppa, and having on board, as I am told, from fifteen to twenty thousand land forces; besides these, there are still fifteen thousand men at Gaza, and the Grand Vizier is marching from Damascus. A few days since, he sent us back a foldier of the 25th demi-brigade, who had been made prisoner in the neighbourhood of El Arisch; after having showed him all his camp, he desired him to acquaint his comrades with what he had seen, and to tell their commander to tremble. This seems to announce either the confidence which the Grand Vizier has in his forces, or a wish to enter upon an accommodation. With respect to myself, it will be absolutely impossible for me to get together more than 5,000 men, capable of taking the field against him: notwithstanding this, I will try my fortune, if I do not succeed in gaining time by my negotiations. Dgezzar has withdrawn his forces from Gaza, and marched them back to Acre."

The schedule of the military wants of the army it would be unnecessary to copy here, as it is admitted by Buonaparté in his letter; but, the estimate of the

debts owing by him when he fled, is so far important, as it proves that he neither kept faith with the people whom he invaded, nor the army whom he led to invade them.

ARMY OF THE EAST.

FRENCH REPUBLIC.

ESTIMATE

Of the different Sums due on the 23d of August 1799, the Period at which GENERAL KLEBER received the Command of the Army.

	Livres. Sums due.		
Pay of the army	4,015,000	0	0
Extraordinaries	576,000	0	0
Difference of pay between the law of the 2d Thermidor, in the year 2, and that of the 23d Floreal, in the year 5, due to part of the army	802,332	6	2
Artillery	91,214	0	0
Engineers			
Marine, military, and merchant service, by a rough calculation	3,962,124	0	6
Military subsistence	1,198,973	10	0
Clothing	144,381	10	10
Military hospitals	311,277	15	4
Military convoys	177,098	4	0
Military posts	5,432	12	2
To the inspector of the saddle manufac- tory	12,601	0	0
To the inspector of the boot manufac- tory	6,000	0	0
To the commissaries at Suez	7,014	6	0
To certain French, Turks, and Greeks, who have furnished provisions at Alexandria, and elsewhere	41,980	7	0
To Citizen Rosetty for provisions for the army, when on its march to Rhamanie	3,222	12	8
Total	11,315,252	10	2

OBSERVATIONS.

“ Since the army quitted France, the expenditure has exceeded the receipts by 11,315,252 livres, 10 sous, 2 deniers—this debt, then must inevitably continue increasing. At our first arrival here, requisitions were made in all the towns for the immediate subsistence of the troops. These have never been paid for.

“ Extraordinary contributions were levied upon the merchants, tradesmen, &c.

“ The effects of the Mamelukes were also seized on our arrival; their wives have been made to pay an extraordinary imposition.

“ The receipts of the last year were greater than those of the present can possibly be. The inundation has failed, and many villages have been deprived of water.

“ The debt above stated does not include what is due to the provinces for the supplies in kind, with which the troops were furnished during their march.

“ It is evident, from these observations, that, as long as the army of Egypt is engaged in hostilities, there can be no foreign trade; nor can the receipts be possibly made to answer the expenses. It is peace alone which can place the receipts on a satisfactory footing.

Certified by me,

E. POUSSIELGUE, Commissary-general, &c.
to be conformable to the respective lists
delivered to me at Cairo, Oct. 7, 1799.

Examined by the Commander in Chief,

(Signed)

KLEBER.



(General Tiberius)

Pub. by M. L. & C. 1819

CHAPTER XIX.

General Kleber addresses an animating Proclamation to the Army.—Citizen Poussielgue Administrator-general of the Finances of Egypt's, interesting Account of the State of Egypt, and of the French Army and Finances.—A Treaty signed between Sir Sidney Smith and General Kleber, for the Evacuation of Egypt by the French Army.

FEELING, as Kleber did upon this occasion, he would hardly have been subject to censure if he had openly declaired his opinions to the army, and denounced Buonaparté a traitor; but like a true soldier, he chose to consult the orders he had received rather than his own feelings, and left his statements to be justified by events rather than forwarded by his own manoeuvres. The following Address, delivered while he was yet smarting from the recent perfidy of Buonaparté, may be recommended, as a model of generosity, manliness, and true military honour.

KLEBER *Commander in Chief, to the Army.*

Head Quarters, Cairo, August 31, 1799.

“SOLDIERS!

“MOTIVES, of the most imperious nature, have determined the Commander in Chief, Buonaparté, to return to France.

“The dangers incident to a voyage undertaken in no very favourable part of the year, on a narrow sea, covered with the enemies' fleets, were too feeble to arrest him. Your happiness was at stake!

“Soldiers! a powerful reinforcement, or a glorious peace, is at hand: a peace worthy of you and of your achievements, is on the point of restoring you to your country.

“In taking upon myself the charge with which Buonaparté was intrusted, I was neither unaware of its importance, nor of the toil and danger attending it ; but, on the other hand, when I considered your gallantry, so often crowned with the most brilliant success ; your unwearied patience in braving every calamity, and supporting every privation ; when I considered, in short, all that might be done or attempted with such soldiers, I lost sight of everything but the advantage of being at your head, and the honour of commanding you ; and I felt myself inspired with new vigour.

“Soldiers ! rely upon what I say ; your urgent wants shall be the never-ceasing object of my most earnest solicitude.”

(Signed)

KLEBER.

“By order of the Commander in Chief, the General of Division, and Chief of the Staff.”

(Signed)

DAMAS.

A true copy. (Signed) DUMAS, Adjutant-general.

A true copy. LE ROY.

By the letters of General Kleber, it appears, that that officer opened a negotiation with the Grand Vizier, upon the basis of Buonaparté's Letter, which it is unnecessary to insert here, as it was merely a repetition of those professions of friendship for the Porte, and of those attempts to obtain its acquiescence in the violation of Egypt, which he had before speculated upon. The extensive preparations that the Turks were, in the interim, making to attack the army at all points, occupied so much time, that the French officers had sufficient leisure to take an accurate and extensive survey of their situation, in Egypt. Not one of the officers, whose private letters have been published, expressed themselves satisfied with the conduct of Buonaparté ; and, in general, they evince

a strong suspicion of its being his design to impose at once upon the Government and the army. Of the officers alluded to, it is to be observed, that none were personally the enemies of our Hero, and that they had all been attached to him by personal respect at the time of his quitting France; the testimony of any one of those officers ought, therefore, to be taken as fair evidence in the concerns of Egypt, though it might not be favourable to Buonaparté; but as the occupation of that Colony essentially forms the most conspicuous feature in his Life, it is desirable that every particular relative to it should be collected from the most authentic source; we shall, therefore, insert a Letter of Citizen Poussielgue, who possessed the confidence of the General himself, (see page 258) and which Letter contains the best account of Egypt that has been written.

LIBERTY !

EQUALITY !

FRENCH REPUBLIC.

E. POUSSIELGUE, *Comptroller of the Expenses of the Army, and Administrator-general of the Finances of Egypt, to the EXECUTIVE DIRECTORY.*

Cairo, September 22, 1799.

CITIZENS DIRECTORS,

“ I HAVE been, exclusively, charged, since the arrival of the army in Egypt, with the administration of the finances, and of the other departments connected with the political economy of this country.

“ I conceive I owe you, after the departure of General Buonaparté, and in the critical situation in which he left us, a concise, but faithful, representation of the observations which I have collected, and the political opinions which naturally flow from them.

“ Travellers, and even the agents of the French Government, who have been in Egypt, have so cordially

agreed in the exaggerated ideas which they have disseminated respecting the natural riches and the treasures which this country contains, that a residence of fifteen months, with multiplied researches, and experiments, by a great number of enlightened men, have not yet totally effaced the false impressions they had given.

“ The ordinary revenues, including the customs, were estimated from 49 to 50,000,000; some have even carried them as far as 60,000,000.

“ They can only be reckoned, in time of peace, at 19,000,000; a system of commerce well managed, and well protected, might raise them to 20,000,000.

“ In time of war (such as that we have been incessantly engaged) the revenues do not, by any means, exceed 12 or 13,000,000.

“ Abundance in Egypt depends, first, on a good Nile, and, secondly, on the distribution of the water: every year the canals must be cleaned out, the dikes repaired, and care taken that none of them be cut sooner or later than the common interest appears to require.

“ The distribution and the maintenance of the canals are very far from being carried here to that degree of utility which one would expect to find in a country, whose fertility entirely depends on the observation of these two circumstances.

“ Even when the Nile is good a great quantity of land remains uncultivated, for want of order in cutting the dikes: but when the Nile is bad, or middling, the loss is ten times greater than it ought to be; because, all the villages being equally afraid of wanting water, those who border on the river hasten, before the proper time, to cut the dikes; which is never done without a contest with the villages interested in opposing it: and by this inconsiderate method of proceeding, a great part, of the water, already so scarce, is lost, without procuring the least advantage.

“ But, however productive the harvests may be, they

cannot, under the present system, increase the revenues of the Government, although it be itself proprietor of two-thirds of the lands of Egypt; while, on the other hand, a bad Nile diminishes them considerably.

“ The Egyptian system of finance is entirely feudal.

“ The peasant ploughs and sows for his own advantage, in consideration of a fixed rent, which he pays in money, or in kind, to the proprietor.

“ This rent may be divided into three distinct heads :

“ The *Miri* : this is a kind of ground-rent due to the Grand Seigneur; the proprietor receives and pays it in to the *Effendi* appointed to collect it.

“ This *Mira*, imposed on the lands, amounts to 3,000,000 livres, according to all the rent-rolls which fell into my hands.

“ The second kind of rent is called *Fais* : it is the quit-rent, or net income, originally appropriated to the proprietor : it amounts, like the former, for all the lands, those of Government included, to 3,000,000.

“ The third kind is called *Barani*, or *Moudaf* ; it is composed, first, of an over-charge of income, laid on by the proprietor by way of supplement to the *Fais*. Secondly, of extraordinary requisitions of every kind, made on the village, either of money or of produce. Thirdly, of expenses caused by the passage of the troops, or by the visits of the proprietor. Fourthly, of all the official charges of the village and the province, pious foundations, &c. &c. These united, produce, from all the landed property of Egypt, 6,400,000.

“ Besides this, there is a sum of 1,300,000 arising from the duties which the *Cachefs* used to collect for their own advantage in the provinces which they governed.

“ Thus it appears, that the sum total of the revenues in specie which are raised from the cultivators of the lands of Egypt (exclusive of the immense peculations of the *Copts* who collect them) amounts pretty nearly to 14,000,000.

“ From these must be deducted 3,200,000 livres, for the *fais* and the *baranis* of the lands which do not appertain to the Government, and which are estimated at a third of Egypt: there will then remain to the Government 10,800,000.

“ It is not possible to obtain more than this without making advances, or exactions,

“ To this revenue must be added the *fais* and *barani* which is paid in kind. This only takes place in the provinces in Upper Egypt.

“ This is estimated at 1,800,000 quintals of all kinds of grain, for that portion which belongs to the Government: taking the whole as equivalent to 1,000,000 quintals of good wheat, at 3 livres 10 sols each, it will amount to 3,500,000 livres.

“ From this must be deducted 850,000 for the expenses of collecting and carrying, which amount to seventeen sols for every quintal delivered at Cairo: there remain then 2,650,000 livres.

“ In time of peace the produce of the customs and of the other indirect duties is usually stated at about 5,000,000.

“ The Mint produces 750,000.

“ From this it appears, that the revenues of the Government in time of peace will be 19,2000,000 livres; but in the state of war, in which we are, customs and indirect revenues do not produce more than 1,5000,000.

“ The grain of Upper Egypt, which is not sold on the spot, and which we have not sufficient means to bring down the country, will not produce more than a million.

“ The discharges that must be given to the villages for the lands not watered will amount to more than 1,500,000.

“ There must be deducted a number of charges and pensions granted to the country, and which we have been obliged to continue; the expenses of the caravan to Mecca, which were partly supplied by us last year, and which must be wholly so this; the expenses of the Divans of the

provinces, and of the Janissaries of the country : all these will take off nearly 3,000,000.

“It is not possible, then, to take the revenues appropriated to the army at more than 9 or 10,000,000 ; of this sum there only remains about 2,000,000 to be obtained from this period to the 20th of December next.

“General Buonaparté levied in the first months of our arrival on the different nations, and on the merchants, about 4,000,000 livres of extraordinary contributions. He also laid a duty of two-fifths of a year's revenue on the landed property of individuals, which brought in about 1,200,000.

“These expedients are worn out. No more extraordinary contributions can be looked for in a country where all trade has been at an end for nineteen months. The money of the Christians is exhausted ; we cannot ask the Turks for any without occasioning a revolt, and, besides, we should, in no case, obtain it. The money is hid ; and the Turks, still more than the Christians, suffer themselves to be imprisoned, to be beaten in the most cruel manner ; nay, some of them even suffered their heads to be cut off, rather than discover where they had concealed their treasures !

“The collection of the revenue begins in November for the rice-grounds ; in January for the land appropriated to wheat, and other articles which pay in money ; and in June for those which pay in kind.

“The peasantry are still more tenacious of their money than the inhabitants of the towns ; they never pay but when they are absolutely forced to it, and even then sous by sous : their money is hid, their produce and their other property buried in the ground ; they know they must pay at last, and that by doing it voluntarily, and at the regular periods, they might save themselves from those violent measures which always cost them double, or ruin them. They prefer waiting for a column of troops ; if they see them coming, they immediately flee with their wives, their children, and their cattle ; and the soldiers find nothing at their arrival but a number of empty houses. If they seize themselves

strong enough to resist, they give battle, and call in the neighbouring villages, and even the Arabs, to their assistance. They have always scouts abroad to give them timely notice of the approach of the troops.

“ Sometimes it is possible to seize the chiefs of the village : they are thrown into prison, and kept there till the village has discharged what is due : this expedient is tedious, and does not always succeed. If we are fortunate enough to carry off their camels, buffaloes, and sheep, they suffer them to be sold, instead of attempting to recover them by paying their debt, and expose themselves to the hazard of dying with hunger, leaving their lands uncultivated for the succeeding year !

“ It is, therefore, absolutely necessary to maintain perpetually, in each of the 16 provinces of Egypt, a column of 80 or 100 men, whose sole employment is to force the villagers to pay their taxes : very frequently, after a long and laborious round, the soldiers return with a mere trifle.

“ It is easy to conjecture all the evils, the exactions, the havoc, the waste, and the confusion, which commonly attend these rounds, and which the severest discipline can neither prevent nor remedy.

“ An inconvenience, of a very serious nature, arises, to prevent the collecting of the taxes during the eight months in which the country is not inundated ; it is the period when the Arabs undertake their predatory incursions, when landings are made on the coasts, and when we are threatened with attacks from every quarter. It then becomes necessary for us to be continually fighting : and a column of troops has scarce begun to move forward before it is compelled to fall back, in order to punish the revolted villages, or to expel the Mamelukes and the Arabs.

“ The collection of grain is still more difficult. Like the tax on specie, it is absolutely necessary to compel the villages, *at the point of the bayonet*, to pay what is due ; it must then be taken to the magazines on the banks of the Nile, embarked in boats, and sent down the river to Cairo.

“ When the two first difficulties are overcome, the third, more difficult than either, still remains, on account of the small number of boats which can be found for these convoys, and the short time they can be used, which is only during the four months in which the Nile is navigable. Since our arrival a prodigious number of boats have been cut up and burnt, for want of other fuel; these neither have, nor can, by any possible means, be replaced; a part of what is left is constantly employed in following the movements of the troops who are in pursuit of Murad Bey.

“ Last year we were obliged to purchase for ready money at Cairo, notwithstanding the scarcity of specie, corn for the subsistence of the army, to the amount of more than 300,000 livres, though we had at that very time several millions worth in Upper Egypt.

“ This year the boats have been exclusively employed in bringing down the Government stores: the consequence of this has been an inconvenience of another kind; the city of Cairo is in want of bread, and the uneasiness of the people on the occasion has already produced some degree of fermentation.

“ In despite of all these disagreeable circumstances, there was last year some specie in the country; some had been brought in by the commerce of the preceding year; and yet, when Buonaparté left us, there were more than 10,000,000 still due to the army, of which the mere pay of the troops amounted to 4,000,000.

“ At present the specie has entirely disappeared; nothing is now to be seen but medins, (a copper coin of nearly the value of an English halfpenny) which circulate from hand to hand with inconceivable rapidity.

“ This coin bears but little more than a third of the intrinsic value of the other coins. Before the war, Spanish dollars were brought here in abundance, and the medins carried away: at present the dollars are all taken off by the coffee trade with Yemen, where they are sent to the mints.

and melted down ; so that, like the gold coin, they become more valuable as they become more scarce and the medins more plentiful. The consequence of this is, a rise in the price of every article, and a number of obstacles in the circulation of cash.

“The present superabundance of all the mercantile productions of Egypt, arising from the total cessation of foreign trade, is a circumstance still more disagreeable : it will complete the ruin of this country ; for the villages being obliged to pay us always the same sums, and unable either to export or to find a market for their produce at home, will speedily see their inhabitants reduced to the last stage of misery ; while the army, which had so much difficulty to procure money, while there was yet some in the country, will, shortly, be deprived of it altogether.

“The military chest is always empty ; and, for a considerable period to come, we have not the most distant prospect of receiving more than 2 or 300,000 livres a month, while the ordinary expenses amount to more than 1,300,000 for the same space of time.

“The natives of this country, notwithstanding their frequent insurrections, may be considered as a mild and tractable people ; but they cannot be trusted ; they, are besides, very far from loving us, although they have been treated with more kindness than was ever yet shown to any conquered people* !

“The difference of manners, that extremely important one of language, and, above all, their religion, form obstacles of the most insuperable nature to everything like a sincere affection.

* These tractable Egyptians must surely be the most perverse mules that ever existed ! To revolt against the French, who used them more kindly than any conquered people was ever used ; who only “cut their heads off,” to obtain their money, and “point their bayonets at their breasts,” to make them give up everything else, argues a degree of ingratitude equal to the insensibility they all show in not loving such exquisite benefactors ! and of which Poussielgue so feelingly complains.

“ They hate the government of the Mamelukes ; they dread the yoke of Constantinople ; but they will never be brought to endure ours, but in the hope of, ultimately, shaking it off. The only favour they might be disposed to grant, is, to allow us the preference of all the nations which they call Christians.

“ We have here, on every side of us, ten thousand secret enemies to one open friend.

“ We had succeeded in maintaining a good intelligence with the Cherif of Mecca ; and the letters which he wrote to Buonaparté and myself had quieted, for an instant, the consciences of the musfulmen in this country : but we conjecture, from some spies, which he has sent to Cairo since the arrival of the Grand Vizier at Damascus, that he has changed his opinion, and, in consequence of the insinuations of the English, who have a force in the Red Sea, gone over to our enemies.

“ We had 41,000 effective men at our arrival in Egypt. There were then only Mamelukes and Arabs to fight ; and yet these constantly and exclusively occupied the whole attention of the army to the end of January.

“ At present the Mamelukes, though dispersed, are notwithstanding, almost all in existence ; and may, whenever the attention of the army shall be otherwise occupied, reunite with the utmost promptitude : they have only lost four or five inferior chiefs ; the principal ones, who remain, are still powerful, and have a considerable degree of interest.

“ The Arabs are not at all diminished ; they hate us as much as they did at our arrival ; and their wandering kind of life renders us no objects of apprehension to them.

“ When we first landed, the Egyptians believed, as we told them, that it was with the consent of the Grand Seignior, and they submitted with more docility : at present they are perfectly convinced of the contrary. Those who appear to be in our interest conceive themselves authorized by our lie, to betray us ; they will certainly do it on the

first occasion; and their hearts were bounding with joy when the landing took place at Aboukir, in August last.

“But, when to these numerous armies, in the midst of whom we live, are added those from without; when the Grand Vizier, with the principal officers of the Ottoman Court, is assembling all the forces of the Empire to attack us, in different points at once, by land and sea, assisted too by England and Russia; when he calls upon all the people of this country to rise against us; and, finally, when the few Arabs, whom he had attached to us, leave us, to go over to him; it is not difficult to discover that our situation is desperate.

“The enemy looses an army, he raises another instantly. He was beaten at Mount Tabor, two months after he was beaten at Aboukir; the same period is elapsed, and he is again ready to be beaten at Salahieh! But every victory carries off some of our best troops, and their loss cannot be repaired. A defeat would annihilate us all to the last man; and, however brave the army may be, it cannot long avert that fatal event.

“The war has deprived us of a number of excellent officers; such as General Caffarelli, General Dommartin, General Bon, General Rambault, and General Dupuis; it has also deprived us of almost the whole corps of engineers, and of a very considerable part of the chiefs of brigade, both of infantry and cavalry. Several able generals have left us, and Buonaparté has taken five with him.

“The army, without clothes, and, above all, without arms, and without stores of any kind, reduced to less than two-thirds of its original numbers, has now no more than 11,000 men capable of taking the field, although about 13 or 14,000 appear under arms; this is owing to the appearance of a great number of soldiers at the roll-call, who prefer, sick and wounded as they are, doing duty at their quarters to staying in the hospitals or in the dépôts. When they are wanted to march a little farther than usual, or to fight,

the force they have put upon themselves instantly appears. Wounds, ophthalmies, dysenteries, and other diseases, not less common here, have absolutely disabled the rest of the army.

“ Even those who are in a condition to march are exhausted by fatigue, enfeebled by the climate, and the wounds and sicknesses which they have endured, and their courage is proportionably diminished.

“ With this handful of men we have to cover five hundred leagues of country ; overawe three millions of inhabitants, who may be reckoned as so many enemies ; and garrison the holds of and fortresses of Alexandria, Rosetta, Rahmanie, Gizeh, Benisuef, Medine, Miniet, Siout, Girgé, Kené, Cosséir, Cairo, Suez, Mitt Kainar, Salahieh, El Arisch, Bilbeis, Catieh, Damietta, Mansora, Semenoud, and El Benouf. Should the Grand Vizier attack us, we cannot oppose more than five or six thousand men to all the Ottoman forces, which will be at his disposal ; and, should he attack us in two places at once, he will penetrate into the country without a possibility on our side of preventing him : this would certainly have happened to General Buonaparté, if the Turks, while they were landing at Aboukir, had made the Syrian army advance upon Egypt.

“ In three months we shall be obliged to encounter, a second time, that destructive malady the Plague, which may make dreadful havoc amongst us : this horrible prospect dismays the stoutest hearts.

“ To put the finishing hand to our misfortunes, the Nile of this year has been extremely bad, having flowed off suddenly, and before the lands could be inundated in due succession ; we shall not be able to draw any contribution from the villages which have not received their water, and we are threatened with the most frightful misery !

“ There is not a soldier, not an officer, not a general, who does not most earnestly long to return to France ; persuaded, as they all are, that they are all sacrificing here, without any advantage to their country, their healths and their lives.

“ However, from the present situation of things in France, and considering that for more than 15 months it has not been possible to send us any assistance, it is clear that we must forego the hope of having it, in any time to do us service, especially as the favourable season has now been suffered to pass by.

“ The army saw with pleasure General Kleber at their head after the departure of General Buonaparté ; no one is more capable of inspiring them with confidence and esteem.

“ But he is full of honour and of noble pride ; and the more sensible he is of the difficulty of the task thus left him, the more fearful he will be of listening to sentiments imperiously dictated by circumstances, and the immediate interest of the army, but which might, some time hence, be attributed, perhaps, to timidity.

“ Not having the same responsibility on me, I am not afraid, Citizens Directors, to lay before you the naked truth ; and be assured, that, however strong the representation I have just made, you would find it but feeble and imperfect, if the limits of a letter would allow me to enter into greater details.

“ Egypt is a very fine country, our dreadful situation in it is merely the effect of circumstances : it proves only that we are arrived too soon, and that the time is not yet come for us to establish ourselves.

“ There is not a doubt, but, that, if we were peaceable masters of Egypt, we might in a few years entirely remove a great part of the evils which infest and desolate it, such as the Plague and the Arabs ; and give to agriculture and commerce a new activity, which should restore this country to its ancient splendor. This would render it one of the finest colonies in the world, which would speedily become the centre of universal commerce.

“ But Egypt is bounded by two seas (the Red Sea and the Mediterranean) and by deserts.

“ It is necessary to have a powerful marine to be in a

condition of approaching it at pleasure ; and, above all, to be enabled to protect its commerce, and insure all the advantages which it holds out.

“ The French Republic is at present without a navy : it will be yet a long time before it can have created one capable of contending with that of our enemies.

“ To pretend to preserve Egypt without having any means of sending thither, and of assuring the safety of our convoys of every kind, is merely to expose ourselves to the hazard of being compelled to abandon it to Russia or England, who, under the pretext of driving us from it, will establish themselves there, and very soon take effectual measures to exclude us from it for ever.

“ We might, indeed, still maintain ourselves there if we had the permission of the Porte ; but if it was not thought possible to obtain it before our invasion, it must be still less so now, when the Porte lies at the mercy of the Russians and English : and even were she, contrary to all appearances, disposed, from political considerations, to suffer us to occupy Egypt, provisionally, the English would never be induced to permit it.

“ When the expedition to Egypt took place we were at peace on the Continent ; we had still a considerable fragment of our naval force in the Mediterranean ; and we were in possession of the whole of Italy, Corsu, and Malta ; a hope, too might have been indulged that we should obtain the consent of the Porte, at least tacitly ; and thus we should have gained the end we proposed against the English ; for it is my opinion, with that of all the world, that our proper view was, by alarming them for the safety of their Indian possessions, to force them into a peace advantageous for the Republic, by making the evacuation of Egypt an object of compensation for the restitutions which we should, in that case, have required.

“ But the fatal engagement of Aboukir ruined all our hopes : it prevented us from receiving the remainder of the forces which were destined for us ; it left the field free

for the English to persuade the Porte to declare war against us; it rekindled that which was hardly extinguished with the Emperor of Germany; it opened the Mediterranean to the Russians, and planted them on our frontiers; it occasioned the loss of Italy, and the invaluable possessions in the Adriatic, which we owed to the successful campaigns of Buonaparté; and, finally, it at once rendered abortive all our projects, since it was no longer possible for us to dream of giving the English any uneasiness in India: add to this, that the people of Egypt, whom we wished to consider as friends and allies, instantaneously became our enemies; and, entirely surrounded as we were by the Turks, we found ourselves engaged in a most difficult defensive war, without a glimpse of the slightest future advantage to be derived from it.

“At present, we can no longer flatter ourselves that the English will be prevailed on to agree to any equivalent in the articles of peace for the evacuation of Egypt. For, in the first place, they know perfectly well the degree of weakness and want to which we are reduced, and which renders it impossible to undertake anything against them: and in the second, that, even if we should receive succours (which they will use every means in their power to prevent) we should not, on that account, be a jot farther advanced while we have the Turks to contend with; and while they are assured that the Porte will not make peace without their consent, or without stipulating that the preliminary article for terminating the war shall be the evacuation of Egypt.

“Under this point of view our plan has totally failed, in as much as it can no longer affect the English; and thus, neither as a conquest nor a colony, can there be any farther pretence for keeping possession of Egypt.

“But there is yet another consideration; it is, that if we delay entering into a treaty (such is the state of weakness to which we are already reduced) there is reason to fear that we shall be too late; that the remainder of the army

will perish, or that we shall be obliged to evacuate the country without any conditions at all: while, on the contrary, we have it at present in our power to make it the price of peace with the Ottoman Empire and the Barbary States, the strengthening our old connexions with Constantinople, and resuming in the Levant that exclusive commerce which we once enjoyed.

“ This treaty, to which the English must be admitted as a party, will be a preparatory step to that peace which it is, at length, more than time to conclude with them. It will infallibly induce Russia to declare war against the Porte, and cause a diversion of the most important kind in our affairs in Europe; we might even hope to regain by it what we have lost in the Mediterranean.

“ I have the greater confidence in this opinion, because I am persuaded, that the English cannot see without some uneasiness, and without a secret kind of jealousy, the progress of the Russians—a progress much more dangerous for them than our continental power, now that our navy is destroyed, and that we have lost our maritime conquests.

“ The only event which could possibly enable us to preserve Egypt would be an immediate war between Russia and the Porte. All the Ottoman forces which are marching against us, would instantly fly to protect the centre of the empire. In such a case the Grand Seignior would grant us peace on any terms we might think proper to ask.

“ But it is probable, that without a treaty of alliance between the French Republic and Russia, which might be useful to us at this moment, but which would certainly be impolitic, this last power will only wait till the Porte shall have made peace with us to declare war against her: for by fighting against the Turks we diminish his forces and his means. This is toiling for Russia, who, on her side, unable to make war against the Porte without forcing her to conclude a peace with us, attains her purpose, which is the destruction of that power, just as effectually by making war on the French, whom she knows to be her sole stay and support.

“The Ottoman Empire is generally regarded as an old edifice tottering to its fall. The European powers have long been preparing to divide its scattered fragments, and many politicians conceive that the catastrophe is close at hand. In this supposition, they think it but right that France should have her share of the spoils; and the part allotted to her is Egypt.

“If this fall of the Ottoman Empire (which is very far from being so certain, when we consider the discussions and the variety of oppositions it would produce amongst the great powers of Europe, even among those who might have combined for this very object; when we consider, still further, that it will be eternally the interest of France, England, Prussia, and even the Empire, to oppose it); if this fall, I say, should, after all, take place, France will always be in time to have Egypt. Besides, the French will be invited there by the Turks themselves, whenever the latter find themselves menaced by the Russians, whom they morally hate.

“France is so fine a country; the French are so powerful by their numbers, their riches, and their situation with respect to the other continental powers, that they cannot possibly gain anything by a total overthrow of the system of Europe; while, at the same time, this overthrow may give birth to a new and preponderating power, which shall deprive them of all their advantages in the Mediterranean.

“Weighing all these circumstances, Citizens Directors, I cannot but conclude, that we are too distant, and that events operate too rapidly, to permit us to wait for your orders before we take our resolution; at least, we cannot do so without compromising the interests of the Republic, the safety and the honour of the remains of the army.

“That we must infallibly evacuate Egypt, establishing, as the price of this sacrifice, a peace, together with all our ancient connexions, with the Ottomans and the States of Barbary.

“That all which you have now to hope for, whatever

may be your views on Egypt, depends upon the present intentions of General Kleber, which are, to retard the evacuation as long as possible, by the delays which he will endeavour to introduce into the negotiation; if, after all, we are happy enough to be permitted to negotiate.

“That, finally, if the evacuation should take place without waiting for your orders, it will only be, because it was inevitable; and because, in the state of ignorance in which we all are respecting the real situation of France and of Europe, this evacuation was imperiously called for by prudence, and was not inconsistent with our political interests.”

Health and respect,

E. POUSSIELGUE.

It is impossible to peruse this Letter without being obliged to acknowledge that the condition of the army was wholly hopeless, and that the artificial courage which had been raised by the chimerical and delusive promises of Buonaparté, was now changed into desperation. Apprehensions were in fact, never better founded than those here expressed; for not only were the mouths of the Nile all in danger of being blocked up by the Anglo-Turks, but the Pachas of the Desert were preparing to attack Cosnier, on the side of the Red Sea, and Murad Bey was assembling the Mamelukes in the vicinity of Sifut. Dessaix was thus obliged to be constantly on the alert in Upper Egypt; and though in every skirmish he gained the advantage, he was utterly incapable of assisting either the posts on the frontiers of the Desert or those of the Delta. Negotiation, under those circumstances, was evidently the principal business to be attended to, and the English Commander having arrived off Damietta, with a large naval force, General

Kleber gladly accepted an invitation from him to treat for the evacuation of Egypt.

Sir Sidney Smith informed Kleber, in a letter dated 26th of October, that Great Britain was not a mere auxiliary, but a party concerned in the question discussed in Buonaparté's Letter. From the nature of the alliance between the Sublime Porte and Great Britain, Sir Sidney declared, that, although the free evacuation of Egypt might be agreed to by the Court of Constantinople, it required the approbation of the British Cabinet before it could be carried into effect. Kleber desired that the Grand Vizier would name two persons, on behalf of the Porte, to meet Defaix and the Administrator-general of finances, Poussielgue, whom he would send to any place that might be appointed; and that, if the Commodore's ship should be named, he had no objections. The conferences were opened on board the *Tigre*, and much ingenuity was displayed by the French negociators to obtain more advantageous terms than their situation entitled them to. In the midst of the discussions the Ottoman army laid siege to El Arish, and captured it, after a very slight resistance from the French garrison; at that place therefore, the treaty was concluded and ratified between Sir Sidney and General Kleber, on the 24th of January, 1800. The conditions of the treaty were, principally, that the French should evacuate Egypt within three months, that they should be allowed to proceed to France, with all their arms and baggage, and that the Turks should provide them with money, to supply them with necessaries, both during their stay in Egypt and during their voyage home.

CHAPTER XX.

Buonaparté's Arrival in France.—Remarks on the Power of the English East India Company.—Seizure of Napper Tandy, &c. at Hamburgh, by Desire of the English Minister.—Relative Situation of America, as a neutral maritime State, to the Belligerent Powers.—Speech of General Washington to Congress on the American Contraband Trade.—Treaty of Commerce between England and America.—Discontent of the French Party in America.—General Washington's Speech, detailing an Insurrection.—Growing Discontents of the Americans against the English and their own Government.

TO persons wholly unacquainted with maritime affairs, it may seem extraordinary, that, at a time, when it was understood the British Government kept all the ports of Egypt, as it were, hermetically sealed, Buonaparté should have ventured to defy its vigilance, and enter upon so dangerous a voyage. Such persons will, however, be much more surprised to find, that in the midst of so diligent a look-out, this terrific Commander could put to sea unobserved, and again traverse the Mediterranean, without being met by one single vessel belonging to a nation which spent that year £13,647 000, to purchase the dominion of the ocean! Persons of this sort were heard to charge the British admiralty with negligence on account of this escape, but, Buonaparté himself, who was less displeased upon the occasion, attributes it to his "good fortune".

On his voyage nothing remarkable happened; and it is only said of it, that he sometimes played and laughed with his companions, and amused himself with geometry and chemistry on board ship. On arriving off the coast of Corsica, a storm obliged the

vessel to enter the port of Ajaccio, his native town, where the reception he met with from his countrymen was precisely such as the éclat of his victories was calculated to procure. At Corsica he learned the extent of the calamities that France had suffered, and again set out for the French coast, of which he was within sight, when the sailors discovered some English ships, amounting to seven sail. The topmasts were lowered with a view to escape observation, and it was proposed to return to Corsica; but Buonaparté assumed the command, and insisted upon making for the coast of Provence, where he arrived safe, in the midst of an astonished multitude, who refused to credit the fact upon the mere hoisting of his flag at the mast-head, and was only convinced of the reality, when they beheld him in the bosom of their encircling crowds. When the Directory at Paris were informed that Buonaparté had landed at Frejus, from Egypt, they made known the General's arrival to the Two Councils, who received the message with cries of *Vive la République!* The General remained at Frejus only one hour, while a carriage was procured to take him to Paris, and he arrived at the Capital on the 16th of October, being hailed on every side, during his journey, with the cry of "Peace! Peace!" as if the nation sighed for that blessing only, and expected it at his hands alone.

It is a peculiarity in the history of this extraordinary character, that a great variety of circumstances have always combined to promote his interest upon occasions when it is extremely probable that his own intrinsic merit would have produced him little or no advantage. The circumstance of his departure from France, with the flower of the army, at a moment when the country was most precariously situated,

would, of itself, have marked him out as an object of public resentment at any other time ; but the almost total annihilation of that army, and such a loss, aggravated by its abandonment on a distant and inhospitable shore, must have drawn upon him the execrations of every Frenchman, had not France have found herself humbled to the very dust by the terror and apprehensions arising from her situation, internal, as well as external.

The English had not been more successful in destroying the Egyptian Expedition than in securing the grand object of French envy, under the influence of which it had been undertaken. Not only had the British army in the East Indies overturned the throne of Tippoo, and slain him in the midst of his Capital ; but, the victors immediately exercised the rights of conquest. A Proclamation was issued by the British Commander, from Seringapatam, declaring that the late Sultan had formed an offensive and defensive alliance with the French, and admitted a French force into his army, for the purpose of commencing war against the East India Company and its allies ; and it charged him with other instances of hostility, and, finally, decreed, that a great portion of his immense territories should be subjected to the authority, and for ever incorporated with the dominions of the East India Company and its allies ; and that a separate government should be established in Mysore, under a descendant of the ancient Rajas of Mysore.

Thus, did the English East India Company acquire a vast accession of territorial strength, by the overthrow of one of the most restless and indefatigable princes with whom they had ever contended. New streams of wealth flowed from this conquest into the Com-

pany's coffers, and their army, which had achieved the exploit, shared a liberal portion of the deceased Prince's treasure. If the mind were not habituated to the progress of the East India Company's wars, it would be curious to learn the causes of that eternal hostility between a commercial company and the natives of the country, whither its trade is directed. If we were not accustomed to hear of "the success of the Company's arms," we should feel much surprise, that a band of London merchants, having an exclusive privilege over their fellow merchants, by the mere sufferance of the Government, and trading, as a chartered body of monopolists, to India, instead of endeavouring to conciliate the esteem of the native princes and dealing with their subjects to mutual advantage, should wage a continued war with them. Custom, however, cools our curiosity, and our surprise at an event, insensibly subsides, on observing a continued succession of similar circumstances. Hence, we no longer wonder that a combination of traders should unite war to commerce, send out armies as well as fleets, and conquer as well as well as colonize; hence we become indifferent spectators of the conduct of a few merchants, who, from their accounting house in Leadenhall Street, decree the fate of millions of human beings, in climes, they never saw, and who regulate the interests of nations which they know of but by name!

In the instance alluded to, however, the East India Company stand perfectly justified. The proofs of Tip-poo's treachery were numerous and incontestible, and his overthrow was sudden; for, although he meditated an attack upon the English, he did not suppose that they were acquainted with his design. Being taken

By surprise, and the supplies of troops which he had secretly stipulated for from the French, not having arrived, Seringapatam was carried by storm, and his treachery was dreadfully punished, by the loss of his dominions and his life.

The very great trade which is secured by this enormous power of the English East India Company, to the ports of Great Britain, are sources of national wealth that are properly estimated by the Government; and, if the Company's concerns are injured in India, the British revenue would be proportionably decreased. Unassailable, but by slow and tedious operations, in Europe, it was natural that a man of so much enterprise and ambition as Buonaparté, should endeavour to cripple England by some decisive blow in another quarter. The motives for his expedition to Egypt, and its various fortunes, until the time when he sailed for Europe, have been already detailed.

It is much to be lamented, that nations, as well as individuals, are apt to assume a haughty carriage whenever fortune happens to prosper their endeavours: a remarkable instance of this kind took place in the conduct of Great Britain towards the free, but petty and feeble, city of Hamburgh; whose territory it most outrageously violated, by the instrumentality of Sir James Crawford its minister. It has been related, in a former volume, that Napper Tandy, accompanied by General Rey, and some troops, attempted to land on the North of Ireland, but put to sea on learning the issue of the Rebellion. The vessel in which Tandy and his companions were, was driven by a storm on the coast of Norway; where, apprehending that, in navigating the North Sea, they should

fall in with some English cruisers, they resolved to proceed to France by land. Intelligence of their route and of their object being received at Hamburgh, shortly after they had arrived there, Sir James Crawford applied for a warrant to arrest them, as subjects of England : after much demur, it was granted, and Napper Tandy, with his associates, were apprehended, put in irons, and confined in separate guardhouses. Citizen Marragon, the French Minister, instantly claimed the prisoners as citizens of the French Republic, and threatened to quit Hamburgh if they were not immediately released ; Sir James as positively demanded that they should be detained. The Senate, greatly alarmed by the determined tone of both the ministers, deliberated on the last means of conciliating each, after the steps that had been taken by the magistrates. At length, the prisoners were unironed, and it was assented to by Citizen Marragon, that they should remain in custody and be sent to England, on condition that only the formality of a trial should be adopted ; Sir James Crawford agreeing to this arrangement, the prisoners were put on board the *Xenophon* frigate, at Hamburgh, which immediately sailed for Cuxhaven, and they arrived in Ireland on the 17th of November, 1799. The city of Hamburgh had been much alarmed by the threats of the French Resident, and the citizens in general, disapproved the measure as a violation of their neutrality, which would, probably, subject them to the displeasure of the French Government. It is impossible to review this transaction without tracing in it evident marks of the imbecility of the French Government. This was attacking the lion in his very den, and it was an instance of temerity, that would hardly have been

hazarded, had not the distracted state of the Directory rendered it incapable of exerting those energies, which, a few months before, had made the French arms the terror of Europe.

It was the peculiar misfortune of this war to subject the peaceful citizens of neutral powers, alternately, to the evil of one or other, and sometimes, both, of the Belligerents, and, during a very long period, it seemed that the Western world would have been plunged into all the horrors of this sanguinary contest. The enterprising spirit of the Americans had early engaged them in the various commercial speculations, which the obstacles thrown in the way of the maritime transactions of the belligerent powers left open to competition. This spirit frequently led the transatlantic merchants beyond the limits of fair and legitimate commerce, and exposed them, alternately, to the censure of one or other of the contending powers. As early as 1793, the murmurs upon this head were so loudly expressed, that General Washington, President of the United States, thought it necessary to prepare the public mind for the discussions to which the state of things might probably give rise; and, in a Speech delivered by him, to Congress, on the 3d of December, in that year, are the following observations:

“As soon as the war in Europe had engaged those powers with whom the United States have the most extensive relations, there was reason to apprehend that our intercourse with them might be interrupted, and our disposition for peace drawn into question, by the suspicions too often entertained by belligerent nations. It seemed, therefore, to be my duty, to admonish our citizens of the consequences of a contraband trade, and of hostile acts to any of the parties; and to obtain, by a declaration of the existing

legal state of things, an easier admission of our right to the immunities belonging to our situation. Under these impressions, the Proclamation, which will be laid before you, was issued.

“ In this posture of affairs, both new and delicate, I resolved to adopt general rules, which should conform to the treaties and assert the privileges of the United States; these were reduced into a system which will be communicated to you. Although I have not thought myself at liberty to forbid the sale of the prizes, permitted by our treaty of commerce with France, to be brought into our ports; I have not refused to cause them to be restored, when they were taken within the protection of our territory, or by vessels commissioned, or equipped in a warlike form within the limits of the United States.

“ It rests with the wisdom of Congress to correct, improve, or enforce, this plan of procedure; and, it will, probably, be found expedient to extend the legal code, and the jurisdiction of the courts of the United States, to many cases, which, though dependent on principles already recognized, demand some further provisions.

“ As several of the courts have doubted, under particular circumstances, their power to liberate the vessels of a nation at peace, and even of a citizen of the United States, although seized under a false colour of being hostile property, and have denied their power to liberate certain captures within the protection of our territory, it would seem proper to regulate their jurisdiction in these points. But if the executive is to be the resort in either of the two last mentioned cases, it is hoped, that he will be authorized by law to have facts ascertained by the courts, when, for his own information, he shall request it.

“ A decree however, of the National Assembly, subjecting vessels laden with provisions to be carried into their ports, and making enemy's goods lawful prize in the vessel of a friend, contrary to our treaty, though revoked at one time as to the United States, has been since extended to their

vessels also, as has been recently stated to us. Representations on this subject will be immediately given in charge to our minister there, and the result will be communicated to the legislature.

“I have respected and pursued the stipulations of our treaties, according to what I judged their true sense; and have withheld no act of friendship which their affairs have called for from us, and which justice to others left us free to perform. I have gone further:—rather than employ force for the restitution of certain vessels, which, I deemed the United States bound to restore, I thought it more advisable to satisfy the parties, by avowing it to be my opinion, that, if the restitution were not made, it would be incumbent on the United States to make compensation. The papers now communicated will more particularly apprise you of these transactions.”

From the commencement of the war the belligerent powers acted upon what is called the principle of the war of 1756, that is, they made it a rule to seize, capture, and confiscate, the property of the enemy, wherever they might find it. A very short season left the British entire masters of the seas and, therefore, it was to them that the contraband trade carried on by neutrals was principally injurious. Against the cruisers of that power, a cry was very soon raised in America; and the French faction, which was extremely powerful in all the maritime countries, kept up an incessant clamour against the “oppression and tyranny” that subjected neutrals to search and detention. Free ships, it was pretended, constituted free goods, and, there were even wise men who laid down the monstrous proposition, that all the commerce of the enemy should be allowed to pass freely, provided he could find neutrals base enough to cover it for him as their own.

The encroaching spirit of America frequently af-

sumed such a boisterous form, that it became necessary to adjust the disputes that had arisen between the government of the United States and that of Great Britain. In the discussions it was easily to be observed that the American government was not influenced by the same unreasonable disposition as the citizens of that country were, and the claims it advanced were evidently more the effect of a sense of duty as agents than of their principles as men. The British Government wished to conciliate this disposition, and the result was, that a treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation, was concluded between the two powers on the 19th of November, 1794. In concluding this treaty, the negociators, on both sides, entered into a compromise, for the sake of peace, but the advantage was all on the side of America; for whilst America consented that the belligerent power should retain the right of search, Great Britain agreed that "The merchandise of the produce, growth, or manufacture of the countries at war, which should have been acquired by the subjects of the neutral power, should be carried in neutral vessels."

This was substantially granting to America all she wanted; for, it was abandoning the rule of the war of 1756, and it was enabling every American, for about forty shillings-worth of perjury, to transport a cargo of French, Spanish, or Dutch property, from sea to sea, as his own. The only apology for this treaty was, that it was only designed as a temporary experiment, and was to expire at the end of two years after the termination of the war, when it was stipulated, that the contending parties should "endeavour to agree, whether in any, and in what cases, neutral vessels should protect enemies property."

Notwithstanding the advantages the concession of

the British cabinet gave to the French, nothing was more foreign to the hearts of the partisans of that nation than contentment with them. In America the very temper and mildness of the government was taken as a fair ground to anticipate the result of the negotiation, and pains were taken to sow discontents upon the most unfounded pretences. Even the Minister of France (Genet) had the temerity to distribute inflammatory writings amongst the people, and his example was followed by his agents after the American government had insisted upon his recall.

On assembling the legislature, in the session of 1794-5, the President, Washington, detailed the particulars of an insurrection, that had actually taken place; which, as it serves to shew the character of the government of the time, and will throw much light upon some subsequent transactions, we shall give in his own words.

“ Fellow Citizens of the Senate, and of the House of Representatives.

“ When we call to mind the gracious indulgence of heaven, by which the American People became a nation; when we survey the general prosperity of our country, and look forward to the riches, power, and happiness to which it seems destined; with the deepest regret, do I announce to you, that, during your recess, some of the citizens of the United States, have been found capable of an insurrection. It is due, however, to the character of our government, and to its stability, which cannot be shaken by the enemies of order, freely to unfold the course of this event.

“ During the session of the year 1792, it was expedient to exercise the legislative power granted by the constitution of the United States, “ to lay and collect excises.” In a majority of the states, scarcely an objection was heard to this

mode of taxation. In some, indeed, alarms were at first conceived, until they were banished by reason and patriotism. In the four Western counties of Pennsylvania, a prejudice, fostered and embittered by the artifice of men, who laboured for an ascendancy over the will of others, by the guidance of their passions, produced symptoms of riot and violence. It is well known, that Congress did not hesitate to examine the complaints which were presented; and to relieve them, as far as justice dictated, or general convenience would permit. But the impression which this moderation made on the discontented, did not correspond with what it deserved—The arts of delusion were no longer confined to the efforts of designing individuals. The very forbearance to press prosecutions, was misinterpreted into a fear of urging the execution of the laws; and associations of men began to denounce threats against the officers employed. From a belief, that, by a mere formal concert, their operation might be defeated, certain self-created societies assumed the tone of condemnation. Hence, while the greater part of Pennsylvania itself were conforming themselves to the acts of excise, a few counties were resolved to frustrate them. It was now perceived that every expectation from the tenderness which had been hitherto pursued, was unavailing; and that farther delay could only create an opinion of impotency or irresolution in the government. Legal process was therefore delivered to the marshal, against the rioters and delinquent distillers.

“No sooner was he understood to be engaged in this duty, than the vengeance so armed men was aimed at his person, and the person and property of the inspector of the revenue: They fired upon the marshal, arrested him, and detained him for some time as a prisoner. He was obliged by the jeopardy of his life, to renounce the service of other processes on the West side of the Alleghany Mountain; and a deputation was afterwards sent to him, to demand a surrender of that which he had served. A numerous body

repeatedly attacked the house of the Inspector, seized his papers of office, and finally, destroyed by fire his buildings, and whatsoever they contained. Both of these officers, from a just regard to their safety, fled to the seat of government, it being avowed, that the motives of such outrages were to compel the resignation of the Inspector ; to withstand, by force of arms, the authority of the United States, and thereby, to extort a repeal of the laws of excise, and an alteration in the conduct of government.

“ Upon the testimony of these facts, an associate justice of the supreme court of the United States notified to me, ‘ That in the counties of Washington and Alleghany in Pennsylvania, the laws of the United States were opposed, and the execution thereof obstructed by combinations, too powerful to be suppressed by the ordinary course of judicial proceedings, or by the powers vested in the Marshal of that district.’ On this call, momentous in the extreme, I sought and weighed what might best subdue the crisis. On the one hand, the judiciary was pronounced to be stripped of its capacity to enforce the laws ; crimes, which reached the very existence of social order, were perpetrated without controul ; the friends of government were insulted, abused, and over-awed into silence, or an apparent acquiescence ; and to yield to the treasonable fury of so small a portion of the United States, would be to violate the fundamental principle of our constitution, which enjoins that the will of the majority shall prevail. On the other, to array citizen against citizen ; to publish the dishonour of such excesses, to encounter the expence, and other embarrassments, of so distant an expedition—were steps too delicate—too closely interwoven with many affecting considerations, to be lightly adopted. I postponed, therefore, the summoning of the militia immediately into the field ; but I required them to be held in readiness, that, if my anxious endeavours to reclaim the deluded, and to convince the malignant of their

danger, should be fruitless, military force might be prepared to act, before the season should be too far advanced.

“My proclamation of the 7th of August last, was accordingly issued, and accompanied by the appointment of commissioners, who were charged to repair to the scene of insurrection. They were authorised to confer with any bodies of men or individuals. They were instructed to be candid and explicit in stating the sensations which had been excited in the executive, and his earnest wish to avoid a resort to coercion : to represent, however, that, without submission, coercion must be the resort ; but to invite them, at the same time, to return to the demeanour of faithful citizens, by such accommodations as lay within the sphere of executive power. Pardon, too, was tendered to them by the government of the United States, and that of Pennsylvania, upon no other condition, than a satisfactory assurance of obedience to the laws.

“Although the report of the commissioners marks their firmness and abilities, and must unite all virtuous men, by showing that the means of conciliation have been exhausted ; all of those who had committed or abetted the tumults, did not subscribe to the mild form which was proposed as the atonement ; and the indications of a peaceable temper were neither sufficiently general nor conclusive to recommend or warrant the farther suspension or march of the militia.

“Thus the painful alternative could not be discarded. I ordered the militia to march, after once more admonishing the Insurgents, in my proclamation of the 20th of September last.

“It was a task too difficult to ascertain with precision, the lowest degree of force competent to the quelling of the insurrection. From a respect, indeed, to economy, and the care of my fellow-citizens belonging to the militia, it would have gratified me to accomplish an estimate.—My great reluctance to ascribe too much importance to the opposition, had its extent been accurately seen, would have been a de-

cided inducement to the smallest efficient numbers. In this uncertainty, therefore, I put into motion 15,000 men, as being an army which, according to all human calculation, would be prompt and adequate, in every view, and might, perhaps, by rendering resistance desperate, prevent the effusion of blood. Quotas had been assigned to the states of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia; the governor of Pennsylvania having declared, on this occasion, an opinion which justified a requisition to the other states.

“As Commander in Chief of the militia, when called into the actual service of the United States, I have visited the places of general rendezvous, to obtain more exact information, and to direct a plan for ulterior movements. Had there been room for a persuasion, that the laws were secure from obstruction; that the civil magistrate was able to bring to justice such of the most culpable as have not embraced the proffered terms of amnesty, and may be deemed fit objects of example; that the friends to peace and good government were not in need of that aid and countenance which they ought always to receive, and I trust, ever will, receive, against the vicious and turbulent; I should have caught with avidity that opportunity of restoring the militia to their families and homes. But succeeding intelligence has tended to manifest the necessity of what has been done: it being now confessed, by those who were not inclined to exaggerate the ill conduct of the Insurgents, that their malevolence was not pointed to a particular law, but that a spirit, inimical to all order, has actuated many of the offenders. If the state of things had afforded reason of the continuance of my presence with the army, it would not have been withholden. But every appearance assuring such an issue as will redound to the reputation and strength of the United States, I have judged it most proper to resume my duties at the seat of government, leaving the chief command with the governors of Virginia.

“Still, however, as it is probable that, in a commotion

like the present, whatsoever may be the pretence, the purposes of mischief and revenge may not be laid aside; the stationing of a small force, for a certain period, in the four Western counties of Pennsylvania, will be indispensable, whether we contemplate the situation of those who are connected with the execution of the laws, or of others, who may have exposed themselves by an honourable attachment to them.

“Thirty days, from the commencement of this session being the legal limitation of the employment of the militia, Congress cannot be too early occupied with this subject.

“Among the discussions which may arise from this aspect of our affairs, and from the documents which will be submitted to Congress, it will not escape their observation, that not only the Inspector of the revenue, but other officers in the United States in Pennsylvania, have, from their fidelity in the discharge of their functions, sustained material injuries to their property.—The obligations and policy of indemnifying them are strong and obvious. It may also merit attention, whether policy will not enlarge this provision to the retribution of other citizens, who, though not under the ties of office, may have suffered damage by their generous exertions for upholding the constitution and the laws. The amount, even if all the injured were included, would not be great; and, on future emergencies, the government would be amply repaid by the influence of an example, that he who incurs a loss in its defence shall find a recompense in its liberality.

“While there is a cause to lament, that occurrences of this nature should have disgraced the name, or interrupted the tranquillity, of any part of our community, or should have diverted to a new application any portion of the public resources, there are not wanting real and substantial consolations for the misfortune. It has been demonstrated, that our prosperity rests on solid foundations, by furnishing an additional proof that my fellow citizens understand the true principles of government and liberty; that they feel their

inseparable union ; that, notwithstanding all the devices which have been used to sway them from their interest and duty, they are now as ready to maintain the authority of the laws against licentious invasions as they were to defend their rights against usurpation. It has been a spectacle, displaying to the highest advantage the value of republican governments, to behold the most and the least wealthy of our citizens standing in the same ranks, as private soldiers, pre-eminently distinguished by being the army of the constitution, undeterred by a march of three hundred miles, over rugged mountains, by the approach of an inclement season, or by any other discouragement. Nor ought I to omit to acknowledge the efficacious and patriotic co-operation which I have experienced from the chief magistrates of the states to which my requisitions have been addressed.

“ To every description, indeed, of citizens let praise be given. But let them persevere in their affectionate vigilance over that precious repository of American happiness, the constitution of the United States. Let them cherish it too, for the sake of those, who, from every clime, are daily seeking a dwelling in our land. And, when, in the calm moments of reflection, they shall have retraced the origin and progress of the insurrection ; let them determine, whether it has not been fomented by combinations of men, who, careless of consequences, and disregarding the unerring truth, that those who rouse, cannot always appease a civil convulsion, have disseminated, from an ignorance, or perversion of facts, suspicions, jealousies, and accusations of the whole government.”

Of this insurrection, it is only necessary to add, that, it was quelled on the first appearance of the troops, but, the spirit in which it originated remained unbroken, and when news of the treaty of amity, commerce, &c. arrived in the United States, the partisans of France were determined to make that treaty

the instrument of overthrowing the government. The President did not announce the result of the negotiation till above a year after the treaty had been signed, and the French Government, in the interim, did all that was possible to annoy the American commerce. Every argument was used to persuade the Americans, that their government had betrayed its trust, and, beside the complaints circulated upon the ground of captures, much stress was laid upon the mistakes, that the British officers sometimes committed, in pressing American seamen for Englishmen.

The violent party gained strength considerably by declaiming upon the ill consequences which their lively imaginations predicted would result from the treaty, and it was resolved to make a motion in the house of representatives, which, should lead to a vote of censure upon the government for having sanctioned it. In pursuance of this determination, a resolution passed the house, May, 24th, 1796, to demand from the President a copy of the instructions that had been given to Mr. Jay, the Minister who had negotiated the treaty, to which General Washington made the following reply :

“ Gentlemen of the House of Representatives,

“ With the utmost attention I have considered your resolution of the 24th inst. requesting me to lay before your house a copy of the instructions to the minister of the United States who negotiated the treaty with the King of Great Britain, together with the correspondence and other documents relative to that treaty ; excepting such of the said papers as any existing negotiation may render improper to be disclosed.

“ In deliberating on this subject it was impossible for me to lose sight of the principle which some have avowed in its

discussion, or to avoid extending my views to the consequences which must flow from the admission of that principle.

“ I trust that no part of my conduct has ever indicated a disposition to withhold any information which the constitution has enjoined upon the President as a duty to give, or which could be required of him, by either house of Congress as a right; and with truth I affirm, that it has been, as it will continue to be, while I have the honour to preside in the government, my constant endeavour to harmonize with the other branches thereof, so far as the trust delegated to me by the people of the United States, and my sense of the obligation it imposes to “ preserve, protect, and defend the constitution,” will permit.

“ The nature of foreign negotiations requires caution, and their success must often depend on secrecy; and, even when brought to a conclusion, a full disclosure of all the measures, demands, or eventual concessions, which may have been proposed or contemplated, would be extremely impolitic; for this might have a pernicious influence on future negotiations, or produce immediate inconveniencies, perhaps, danger and mischief, in relation to other powers. The necessity of such caution and secrecy was one cogent reason for vesting the power of making treaties in the President, with the advice and consent of the Senate, the principle upon which that body was formed confining it to a small number of members. To admit, then, a right in the House of Representatives to demand, and to have, as a matter of course, all the papers respecting a negotiation with a foreign power would be to establish a dangerous precedent.

“ It does not occur that the inspection of the papers asked for can be relative to any purpose under the cognizance of the House of Representatives, except that of an impeachment, which the resolution has not expressed. I repeat, that I have no disposition to withhold any information which the duty of my station will permit, or the public

good shall require to be disclosed ; and, in fact, all the papers affecting the negotiation with Great Britain were laid before the Senate when the treaty itself was communicated for their consideration and advice.

“ The course which the debate has taken on the resolution of the house leads to some observation on the mode of making treaties under the constitution of the United States.

“ Having been a member of the general convention, and knowing the principles on which the constitution was formed, I have never entertained but one opinion on this subject ; and, from the first establishment of the government to this moment, my conduct has exemplified that opinion, that the power of making treaties is exclusively vested in the President, by and with the advice of the Senate, provided two-thirds of the senators present concur ; and that every treaty so made and promulgated thenceforward became the law of the land. It is thus that the treaty-making power has been understood by foreign nations ; and in all treaties made with them, we have declared, and they have believed, that, when ratified by the President, with the advice and consent of the Senate, they become obligatory. In this construction of the constitution every house of representatives has, heretofore, acquiesced ; and, until the present time, not a doubt or suspicion has appeared, to my knowledge, that this construction was not the true one. Nay, they have more than acquiesced ; for, until now, without controverting the obligation of such treaties, they have made all the requisite provisions for carrying them into effect.

“ There is also reason to believe that this construction agrees with the opinions entertained by the state conventions, when they were deliberating on the constitution, especially by those who objected to it, because there was not required, in commercial treaties, the consent of two-thirds of the whole Senate, instead of two-thirds of the senators present ; and because, in treaties respecting territorial and certain other rights and claims, the concurrence of three-

fourths of the whole number of the members of both houses respectively was not made necessary.

“ It is a fact declared by the general convention, and universally understood, that the constitution of the United States was the result of a spirit of amity and mutual concession ; and it is well known, that, under this influence, the smaller states were admitted to an equal representation in the Senate with the larger states, and that this branch of the government was invested with great powers ; for, on the equal participation of those powers the sovereignty and political safety of the smaller states was deemed essentially to depend.

“ If other proofs than these, and the plain letter of the constitution itself, be necessary to ascertain the point under consideration, they may be found in the journals of the general convention, which I have deposited in the office of the department of state : in those journals it will appear, that a proposition was made, “ that no treaty should be binding on the United States which was not ratified by a law,” and that the proposition was explicitly rejected.

“ As, therefore, it is perfectly clear to my understanding, that the assent of the House of Representatives is not necessary to the validity of a treaty ; as a treaty with Great Britain exhibits in itself all the objects requiring legislative provision, and on which these papers called for can throw no light ; and as it is essential to the due administration of the government that the boundaries fixed by the constitution between the different departments should be preserved—a just regard to the constitution and to the duty of my office, under all the circumstances of this case, forbid a compliance with your request.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.”

CHAPTER XXI.

Discontents in America.—The Struggles between the French and the English Parties.—The Ascendancy of the mercantile Interest and Ratification of the English Treaty.—The Resignation of the Presidency of the United States by General Washington.—His important Declaration on going into Retirement.—Intrigues previous to the Choice of the new President.—Decree of the French Directory delivered by Citizen Adet to Mr. Pickering.—Citizen Adet's Note and Mr. Pickering's Answer.—Mr. Adams chosen President.

ALTHOUGH the firm and dignified conduct of the President served to encourage and consolidate the friends of government, it by no means weakened the opposition; the Congress, and the House of Representatives both refused to ratify the treaty or to pass the laws necessary to carry it into effect. The whole country was now reduced to a state of alarm; trade became at a stand, as it was thought that the opposition would not be satisfied till they had plunged their country into a war with England; mercantile people and all persons of property dreaded the consequences, and it was impossible to ensure the ships that were wanted to be sent to sea. These troubles were greatly fomented by vast numbers of strangers, who, having been imbued with French principles, and become dissatisfied with their own countries in consequence, had sought refuge in America, where they soon found as much to find fault with as they had seen at home, and were desirous of creating that land anew, because they could find no new one to go to. All these put themselves under the guidance of

the French emissaries, and strove to bring about a rupture with England. At length, the mercantile interest prevailed, and the partisans of peace, after remonstrating with the legislative bodies, had the satisfaction of getting the ratification consummated, though by a very small majority.

The study of American politics has not yet become interesting to Europe ; but, the events of which we are now speaking, will be dwelt upon with considerable attention by posterity, as having led to the most sublime display of moral greatness that the annals of mankind have yet recorded. The resignation of General Washington, after having been twice chosen President of the Imperial Republic, and after having exercised the supreme power in a way that proved him superior to every rival opposition, evinced an instance of pure loyalty and virtue that warrant a fair hope in the improvement of mankind. Whatever may be the analogies that posterity will have to trace in the biography of Washington and Buonaparté, time only can develope ; for the present, we can see nothing more, than that they both lived in the same age and both conquered the enemies of their country : this, however, will always be motive enough for considering their characters together ; and, in studying the life of Buonaparté, it will always be profitable to consider the resignation of Washington. This event, like every other that regards that great Man, is so much better accounted for in his own words than in any other person's narration, that it would be unpardonable to relate it in any other form than that of his own Declaration to his fellow citizens.

TO THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES.

“ Friends and fellow Citizens,

The period for a new election of a citizen, to administer the executive government of the United States, being not far distant, and the time actually arrived when your thoughts must be employed in designating the person who is to be clothed with that important trust ; it appears to me proper, especially as it may conduce to a more distinct expression of the public voice, that I should now apprise you of the resolution I have formed, to decline being considered among the number of those out of whom a choice is to be made.

“ I beg you, at the same time, to do me the justice to be assured, that this resolution has not been taken without a strict regard to all the considerations appertaining to the relation which binds a dutiful citizen to his country ; and that, in withdrawing the tender of service, which silence in my situation might imply, I am influenced by no diminution of zeal for your future interest, no deficiency of grateful respect for your past kindness ; but am supported by a full conviction that the step is compatible with both.

“ The acceptance of, and continuance, hitherto, in the office, to which your suffrages have twice called me, have been an uniform sacrifice of inclination to the opinion of duty and to a deference for what appeared to be your desire. I constantly hoped that it would have been much earlier in my power, consistently with motives which I was not at liberty to disregard, to return to that retirement from which I had been reluctantly drawn. The strength of my inclination to do this, previous to the last election, had even led to the preparation of an Address to declare it to you ; but mature reflection on the then perplexed and critical posture of our affairs with foreign nations, and the unanimous advice of persons entitled to my confidence, impelled me to abandon the idea.

“ I rejoice that the state of your concerns, external as well as internal, no longer renders the pursuit of inclination

incompatible with the sentiment of duty or propriety: and am persuaded, whatever partiality may be retained for my services, that, in the present circumstances of our country, you will not disapprove of my determination to retire.

“The impressions with which I first undertook the arduous trust were explained on the proper occasion: in the discharge of this trust I will only say, that I have with good intentions contributed toward the organization and administration of the government, the best exertions of which a very fallible judgment was capable. Not unconscious, in the outset, of the inferiority of my qualifications, experience in my own eyes, perhaps, still more in the eyes of others, has strengthened the motives to diffidence of myself; and every day the increasing weight of years admonishes me more and more, that the shade of retirement is as necessary to me as it will be welcome: satisfied, that, if any circumstances have given peculiar value to my services, they were temporary, I have the consolation to believe, that, while choice and prudence invite me to quit the political scene, patriotism does not forbid it.

“In looking forward to the moment which is intended to terminate the career of my public life, my feelings do not permit me to suspend the deep acknowledgment of that debt of gratitude which I owe to my beloved country, for the many honours it has conferred upon me; still more for the steadfast confidence with which it has supported me; and for the opportunities I have thence enjoyed of manifesting my inviolable attachment, by services faithful and persevering, though in usefulness unequal to my zeal. If benefits have resulted to our country from these services, let it always be remembered to your praise; and as an instructive example in our annals, that, under circumstances in which the passions, agitated in every direction, were liable to mislead, amid appearances sometimes dubious—vicissitudes of fortune often discouraging—institutions, in which, not unfrequently, want of success has countenanced the spirit of criti-

cism—the constancy of your support was the essential prop of the efforts and a guarantee of the plans by which they were effected. Profoundly penetrated with this idea, I shall carry it with me to my grave, as a strong incitement to unceasing vows, that heaven may continue to you the choicest tokens of its beneficence—that your union and brotherly affection may be perpetual—that the free constitution, which is the work of your hands, may be sacredly maintained—that its administration in every department may be stamped with wisdom and virtue—that, in fine, the happiness of the people of these states, under the auspices of liberty, may be made complete, by so careful a preservation and so prudent a use of this blessing, as will acquire to them the glory of recommending it to the applause, the affection, and adoption of every nation which is yet a stranger to it.

“Here, perhaps, I ought to stop. But a solicitude for your welfare, which cannot end but with my life, and the apprehension of danger, natural to that solicitude, urge me, on an occasion like the present, to offer to your solemn contemplation, and to recommend to your frequent review, some sentiments, which are the result of much reflection, of no inconsiderable observation, and which appear to me all important to the permanency of your felicity as a people. These will be offered to you with the more freedom, as you can only see in them the disinterested warnings of a parting friend, who can possibly have no personal motives to bias his counsel. Nor can I forget, as an encouragement to it, your indulgent reception of my sentiments on a former, and not dissimilar, occasion.

“Interwoven as is the love of liberty with every ligament of your hearts, no recommendation of mine is necessary to fortify or confirm the attachment.

“The unity of government, which constitutes you one people, is also now dear to you. It is justly so: for it is a main pillar in the edifice of your real independence, the support of your tranquillity at home, your peace abroad; of your safety; of your prosperity; of that very liberty

which you so highly prize. But as it is easy to foresee, that from different causes, and from different quarters, much pains will be taken, many artifices employed, to weaken in your minds the conviction of this truth ; as this is the point in your political fortress against which the batteries of internal and external enemies will be most constantly and actively (though often covertly and insidiously) directed, it is of infinite moment, that you should properly estimate the immense value of your national union to your collective and individual happiness ; that you should cherish a cordial, habitual, and immovable attachment to it ; accustoming yourselves to think and speak of it as the palladium of your political safety and prosperity ; watching for its preservation with jealous anxiety ; discountenancing whatever may suggest even a suspicion that it can, in any event, be abandoned ; and indignantly frowning upon the first dawning of every attempt to alienate any portion of our country from the rest, or to enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together its various parts.

“ For this you have every inducement of sympathy and interest. Citizens, by birth or choice, of a common country, that country has a right to concentrate your affections. The name of America, which belongs to you in your national capacity, must always exalt the just pride of patriotism more than any appellation derived from local discriminations. With slight shades of difference, you have the same religious manners, habits, and political principles. You have, in a common cause, fought and triumphed together ; the independence and liberty you possess are the work of joint councils, and joint efforts of common dangers, sufferings, and successes.

“ But these considerations, however powerfully they address themselves to your sensibility, are greatly outweighed by those which apply more immediately to your interest. Here every portion of our country finds the most commanding motives for carefully guarding and preserving the union of the whole.

“The North, in an unrestrained intercourse with the South, protected by the equal laws of a common government, finds, in the production of the latter, great additional resources of maritime and commercial enterprise, and precious materials of manufacturing industry. The South, in the same intercourse, benefiting by the agency of the North, sees its agriculture grow and its commerce expand. Turning partly into its own channels the seamen of the North, it finds its particular navigation invigorated; and, while it contributes, in different ways, to nourish and increase the general mass of the national navigation, it looks forward to the protection of a maritime strength, to which itself is unequally adapted. The East, in a like intercourse with the West, already finds, and, in the progressive improvement of inferior communications by land and water, will, more and more, find, a valuable vent for the commodities which it brings from abroad, or manufactures at home.

The West derives from the East supplies requisite to its growth and comfort; and what is, perhaps, of still greater consequence, it must of necessity owe the secure enjoyment of indispensable outlets for its own productions, to the weight, influence, and the future maritime strength of the Atlantic side of the Union, directed by an indissoluble community of interest as one nation. Any other tenure by which the West can hold this essential advantage, whether derived from its own separate strength, or from an apostate and unnatural connexion with any foreign power, must be intrinsically precarious.

“While, then, every part of our country thus feels an immediate and particular interest in union, all the parts combined cannot fail to find, in the united mass of means and efforts, greater strength, greater resource, proportionably greater security from external danger, a less frequent interruption of their peace by foreign nations; and, what is of inestimable value, they must derive from union an exemption of those broils and wars between themselves, which so frequently afflict neighbouring countries, not tied toge-

ther by the same government; which their own rivalships alone would be sufficient to produce, but which opposite foreign alliances, attachments, and intrigues, would stimulate and embitter. Hence, likewise, they will avoid the necessity of those overgrown military establishments, which, under any form of government, are inauspicious to liberty, and which are to be regarded as particularly hostile to republican liberty: in this sense it is that your union ought to be considered as a main prop of your liberty, and that the love of the one ought to endear to you the preservation of the other.

“These considerations speak a persuasive language to every reflecting and virtuous mind, and exhibit the continuance of the union as a primary object of patriotic desire. Is there a doubt whether a common government can embrace so large a sphere? let experience solve it; to listen to mere speculations in such a case were criminal. We are authorised to hope, that a proper organization of the whole, with the auxiliary agency of governments for the respective subdivisions, will afford a happy issue to the experiment; it is well worth a fair and full experiment. With such powerful and obvious motives to union, affecting all parts of our country, while experience shall not have demonstrated its impracticability, there will always be reason to disturb the patriotism of those, who, in any quarter, may endeavour to weaken its bands.

“In contemplating the causes which may disturb our union it occurs, as matter of very serious concern, that any ground should have been furnished for characterizing parties by geographical discriminations—Northern and Southern—Atlantic and Western; whence designing men may endeavour to excite a belief that there is a real difference of local interests and views. One of the expedients of party to acquire influence within particular districts, is, to misrepresent the opinions and aims of other districts. You cannot shield yourselves too much against the jealousies and heartburnings which spring from these misrepresentations; ,

they will tend to render alien to each other those who ought to be bound together by fraternal affection. The inhabitants of our Western country have, lately, had an useful lesson on this head; they have seen, in the negotiation by the Executive, and in the unanimous ratification by the Senate, of the treaty with Spain, and in the universal satisfaction at the event throughout the United States, a decisive proof how unfounded were the suspicions propagated among them, of a policy in the general government and in the Atlantic States, unfriendly to their interests in regard to the Mississippi: they have been witnesses to the formation of two treaties, that with Great Britain and that with Spain, which secure to them everything they could desire, in respect to our foreign relations, toward confirming their prosperity. Will it not be their wisdom to rely, for the preservation of these advantages, on the union, by which they were procured? will they not, henceforth, be deaf to those advisers, if such there are, who would sever them from their brethren, and connect them with aliens?

To the efficacy and permanency of your union a government for the whole is indispensable. No alliance, however strict, between the parts, can be an adequate substitute; they must, inevitably, experience the infractions and interruptions, which all alliances, in all times, have experienced. Sensible of this momentous truth, you have improved upon your first essay, by the adoption of a constitution of government, better calculated than your former for an intimate union, and for the efficacious management of your common concerns. This government, the offspring of our own choice, uninfluenced and unawed, adopted upon full investigation and mature deliberation, completely free in its principles, in the distribution of its powers, uniting security with energy, and containing within itself a provision for its own amendment, has a just claim to your confidence and your support. Respect for its authority, compliance with its laws, acquiescence in its measures, are duties enjoined by the fundamental maxims of true liberty.

The basis of our political system is the right of the people to make and to alter their constitutions of government; but the constitution which at any time exists, till changed by an explicit and authentic act of the whole people, is sacredly obligatory upon all. The very idea of the power and the right of the people to establish government, presupposes the duty of every individual to obey the established government.

“ All obstructions to the execution of the laws, all combinations and associations, under whatever plausible character, with the real design to direct, controul, counteract, or awe, the regular deliberation and action of the constituted authorities, are destructive of this fundamental principle, and of fatal tendency; they serve to organize faction, to give it an artificial and extraordinary force—to put in the place of the delegated will of the nation the will of a party, often a small, but artful and enterprising, minority of the community; and, according to the alternate triumphs of different parties, to make the public administration the mirror of the ill-concerted and incongruous projects of faction, rather than the organ of consistent and wholesome plans, digested by common councils and modified by mutual interests.

“ However combinations or associations of the above description may, now-and-then, answer popular ends, they are likely, in the course of time and things, to become potent engines, by which cunning, ambitious, and unprincipled men, will be enabled to subvert the power of the people and to usurp to themselves the reins of government, destroying afterward the very engines which have lifted them to unjust dominion.

“ Toward the preservation of your government, and the permanency of your present happy state, it is requisite, not only that you steadily discountenance irregular oppositions to its acknowledged authority, but also, that you resist with care the spirit of innovation upon its principles, however specious the pretexts. One method of assault may be, to

effect in the forms of the constitution alterations, which will impair the energy of the system, and thus to undermine what cannot be directly overthrown. In all the changes to which you may be invited, remember that time and habit are at least as necessary to fix the true character of governments as of other human institutions—that experience is the surest standard by which to test the real tendency of the existing constitution of a country—that facility in changes, upon the credit of mere hypothesis and opinion, form the endless variety of hypothesis and opinion; and, remember, especially, that, for the efficient management of your common interests, in a country so extensive as ours, a government of as much vigour as is consistent with the perfect security of liberty is indispensable. Liberty itself will find in such a government, with powers properly distributed and adjusted, its surest guardian: it is, indeed, little else than a name, where the government is too feeble to withstand the enterprises or factions, to confine each member of the society within the limits prescribed by the laws, and to maintain all in the secure and tranquil enjoyment of the rights of person and property.

“ I have already intimated to you the danger of parties in the state, with particular reference to the founding of them on geographical discriminations. Let me now take a more comprehensive view, and warn you, in the most solemn manner, against the baneful effects of the spirit of party generally.

“ This spirit, unfortunately, is inseparable from our nature, having its root in the strongest passions of the human mind: it exists, under different shapes, in all governments, more or less stifled, controlled, or repressed; but in those of the popular form it is seen in its greatest rankness, and is truly their worst enemy.

“ The alternate domination of one faction over another, sharpened by the spirit of revenge, natural to party dissension, which, in different ages and countries, has perpetrated the most horrid enormities, is itself a most horrid def-

potism ; but this leads, at length, to a more formal and permanent despotism. The disorders and miseries which result gradually incline the minds of men to seek security and repose in the absolute power of an individual ; and, sooner or later, the chief of some prevailing faction, more able or more fortunate than his competitors, turns this disposition to the purposes of his own elevation, on the ruins of public liberty.

“ Without looking forward to an extremity of this kind, (which, nevertheless, ought not to be entirely out of sight) the common and continual mischiefs of the spirit of party are sufficient to make it the interest and duty of a wise people to discourage and restrain it.

“ It serves always to distract the public councils and enfeeble the public administration ; it agitates the community with ill-founded jealousies and false alarms, kindles the animosity of one part against another, foment, occasionally, riot and insurrection. It opens the door to foreign influence and corruption, which finds a facilitated access to the government itself, through the channels of party passions. Thus the policy and will of one country are subjected to the policy and will of another.

“ There is an opinion, that parties, in free countries, are useful checks upon the administration of the government, and serve to keep alive the spirit of liberty. This, within certain limits, is probably true ; and in governments of a monarchical cast, patriotism may look with indulgence, if not with favour, upon the spirit of party. But in those of the popular character, in governments purely elective it is a spirit not to be encouraged. From their natural tendency, it is certain there will always be enough of that spirit for every salutary purpose. And there being constant danger of excess, the effects ought to be, by force of public opinion, to mitigate and assuage it. A fire not to be quenched, it demands an uniform vigilance to prevent its bursting into a flame, lest, instead of warming, it should consume.

“ It is important, likewise, that the habits of thinking in

a free country, should inspire caution in those entrusted with its administration, to confine themselves within their respective constitutional spheres, avoiding in the exercise of the powers of one department to encroach upon another. The spirit of encroachment tends to consolidate the powers of all departments in one, and thus to create, whatever the form of government, a real despotism. A just estimate of that love of power, and proneness to abuse it, which predominates in the human heart, is sufficient to satisfy us of the truth of this position. The necessity of reciprocal checks in the exercise of political power, by dividing and distributing it into different depositories, and constituting each the guardian of the public weal against invasions by the others, has been evinced by experiments, ancient and modern; some of them in our country and under our own eyes. To preserve them must be as necessary as to institute them. If, in the opinion of the people, the distribution or modification of the constitutional power be in any particular wrong, let it be corrected by an amendment, in the way which the constitution designates. But let there be no change by usurpation; for though this, in one instance, may be the instrument of good, it is the customary weapon by which free governments are destroyed. The precedent must always greatly overbalance, in permanent evil, any partial or transient benefit which the use can at any time yield.

“Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, religion and morality are indispensable supports. In vain would that man claim the tribute of patriotism who should labour to subvert these great pillars of human happiness, these firmest props of men and citizens. The mere politician, equally with the pious man, ought to respect and to cherish them. A volume could not trace all their connexion with private and public felicity. Let it be asked, Where is the security for property, for reputation, for life, if the sense of religious obligation desert the community? In what can we have the instruments of investigation in courts of justice? And let us with caution indulge the supposition,

that morality can be maintained without religion. Whatever may be conceded to the influence of refined education, on minds of peculiar structure, reason and experience both forbid us to expect that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principle.

“It is substantially true, that virtue or morality is a necessary spring of popular government : the rule, indeed, extends with more or less force, to every species of free governments. Who that is a sincere friend to it, can look with indifference upon attempts to shake the foundation of the fabric ?

“Promote, then, as an object of primary importance, institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge. In proportion as the structure of government gives force to public opinion it is essential that public opinion should be enlightened.

“As a very important source of strength and security cherish public credit. One method of preserving it is, to use it as sparingly as possible ; avoiding occasions of expense by cultivating peace, but remembering also that timely disbursements to prepare for danger frequently prevent much greater disbursements to repel it ; avoiding, likewise, the accumulation of debt ; not only by shunning occasions of expense, but by vigorous exertions in the time of peace to discharge the debts which unavoidable wars may have occasioned, not ungenerously throwing upon posterity the burden which we ourselves ought to bear. The execution of these maxims belongs to your representatives, but it is necessary that public opinion should co-operate. To facilitate to them the performance of their duty, it is essential that you should practically bear in mind, that toward the payment of debts there must be a revenue ; that to have a revenue, there must be taxes ; that no taxes can be devised which are not, more or less, inconvenient and unpleasant ; that the intrinsic embarrassment inseparable from the selection of their proper objects (which is always a choice of difficulties) ought to be a decisive motive for a candid con-

fruition of the conduct of the government in making it, and for a spirit of acquiescence in the measures for obtaining revenue which the public exigencies may at any time dictate.

“Observe good faith and justice toward all nations, cultivate peace and harmony with all; religion and morality enjoin this conduct, and can it be that good policy does not equally enjoin it? It will be worthy of a free, enlightened, and, at no great distant period, a great nation, to give to mankind a magnanimous, and too novel an example, of a people always guided by an exalted justice and benevolence. Who can doubt, that, in the course of time and things, the fruits of such a plan would richly repay any temporary advantages which might be lost by a steady adherence to it? Can it be, that Providence has not connected the permanent felicity of a nation with its virtue? the experiment, at least, is recommended by every sentiment which ennobles human nature. Alas! is it rendered impossible by its vices!

“In the execution of such a plan nothing is more essential, than that permanent inveterate antipathies against particular nations, and passionate attachments for others, should be excluded, and that, in place of them, just and amicable feelings toward all should be cultivated. The nation which indulges toward another an habitual hatred or an habitual fondness, is, in some degree, a slave; it is a slave to its animosity or to its affection, either of which is sufficient to lead it astray from its duty and its interest. Antipathy in one nation against another disposes each more readily to offer insult and injury, to lay hold of slight causes of umbrage, and to be haughty and intractable when accidental or trifling occasions of dispute occur: hence frequent collisions, obstinate, envenomed, and bloody contests. The nation, prompted by ill-will and resentment, sometimes impels to war the government, contrary to the best calculations of policy. The government sometimes participates in the national propensity, and adopts, through passion, what reason would reject; at other times it makes the animosity of the nation subservient to projects of hostility, instigated by pride, ambition,

and other sinister and pernicious motives ; the peace often, sometimes, perhaps, the liberty of nations, has been the victim.

“ So, likewise, a passionate attachment of one nation for another produces a variety of evils. Sympathy for the favourite nation facilitating the illusion of an imaginary common interest, in cases where no real common interest exists, and, infusing into one the enmities of the other, betrays the former into a participation in the quarrels and wars of the latter, without adequate inducement or justification. It leads also to concessions to the favourite nation of privileges denied to others, which is apt doubly to injure the nation making the concessions, by unnecessarily parting with what ought to have been retained, and, by exciting jealousy, ill-will, and a disposition to retaliate, in the parties from whom equal privileges are withheld : and it gives to ambitious, corrupted, or deluded citizens (who devote themselves to the favourite nation) facility to betray, or sacrifice the interests of their own country, without odium, sometimes even popularity ; gilding with the appearance of a virtuous sense of obligation, a commendable deference for public opinion, or a laudable zeal for public good, the base or foolish compliances of ambition, corruption, or infatuation.

“ As the avenues to foreign influence in innumerable ways, such attachments are particularly alarming to the truly enlightened and independent patriot. How many opportunities do they afford to tamper with domestic factions, to practice the arts of seduction, to mislead public opinion, to influence or awe the public councils ! Such an attachment of a small or weak, toward a great and powerful nation, dooms the former to be the satellite of the latter.

“ Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence (I conjure you to believe me, fellow-citizens !) the jealousy of a free people ought to be constantly awake ; since history and experience prove that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of a republican government. But that jealousy

to be useful, must be impartial; else it becomes the instrument of the very influence to be avoided, instead of a defence against it. Excessive partiality for one foreign nation, and excessive dislike of another, cause those whom they actuate to see danger only on one side, and serve to veil, and even second, the arts of influence on the other. Real patriots, who may resist the intrigues of the favourite, are liable to become suspected and odious; while its tools and dupes usurp the applause and confidence of the people to surrender their interests.

“The great rule of conduct for us, in regard to foreign nations, is, in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little political connexion as possible. So far as we have already formed engagements, let them be fulfilled with perfect good faith. Here let us stop.

“Europe has a set of primary interests, which to us have none, or a very remote relation. Hence she must be engaged in frequent controversies, the causes of which are essentially foreign to our concerns. Hence, therefore, it must be unwise in us to implicate ourselves by artificial ties in the ordinary vicissitudes of her politics, or the ordinary combinations and collisions of her friendships or her enmities.

“Our detached and distant situation invites and enables us to pursue a different course. If we remain one people, under an efficient government, the period is not far off when we may defy material injury from external annoyance; when we may take such an attitude as will cause the neutrality we may at any time resolve upon to be scrupulously respected; when belligerent nations, under the impossibility of making acquisitions upon us, will not lightly hazard the giving us provocation: when we may chuse peace or war, as our interest, guided by justice, shall counsel.

“Why forego the advantage of so peculiar a situation? Why quit our own to stand upon foreign ground? Why, by interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Eu-

rape, entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalry, interest, humour, or caprice?

“ It is our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world; so far, I mean, as we are now at liberty to do it; for, let me not be understood as capable of patronising infidelity to existing engagements. I hold the maxim no less applicable to public than to private affairs, that honesty is always the best policy. I repeat it, therefore, let these engagements be observed in their genuine sense. But, in my opinion, it is unnecessary, and would be unwise, to extend them.

“ Taking care always to keep ourselves, by suitable establishments, on a respectable defensive posture, we may safely trust to temporary alliances for extraordinary emergencies.

“ Harmony, liberal intercourse with all nations, are recommended by policy, humanity and interest. But even our commercial policy should hold an equal and impartial hand; neither seeking nor granting exclusive favours or preferences; consulting the natural course of things; diffusing and diversifying by gentle means the streams of commerce, by forcing nothing; establishing, with powers so disposed, in order to give trade a stable course, to define the rights of our merchants, and to enable the government to support them, conventional rules of intercourse, the best that present circumstances and mutual opinion will permit, but temporary, and liable to be, from time to time, abandoned or varied, as experience and circumstances shall dictate, constantly keeping in view, that it is folly in one nation to look for disinterested favour from another; that it must pay, with a proportion of its independence, for whatever it may accept under that character; that by such acceptance it may place itself in the condition of having given equivalents for nominal favours, and yet of being reproached with ingratitude for not giving more. There can be no greater error than to expect or calculate upon real favours from nation to nation. It is an illusion which experience must cure, which a just pride ought to discard.

“ In offering to you, my countrymen, these counsels of an old and affectionate friend, I dare not hope they will make the strong and lasting impresson I could wish: that they will controul the usual current of the passions, or prevent our nation from running the course which has hitherto marked the destiny of nations. But, if I may even flatter myself, that they may be productive of some partial benefit, some occasional good; that they may, now and then, recur to moderate the fury of party spirit, to ware against the mischiefs of foreign intrigue, to guard against the impostures of pretended patriotism; this hope will be a full recompense for the solicitude for your welfare by which they have been dictated.

“ How far, in the discharge of my official duties, I have been guided by the principles which have been delineated, the public records, and other evidences of my conduct, must witness to you and to the world. To myself, the assurance of my own conscience is, that I have, at least, believed myself to be guided by them.

“ In relation to the still subsisting war in Europe, my Proclamation of the 22^d of April, 1793, is the index to my plan. Sanctioned by your approved voice and by that of your representatives in both houses of Congress, the spirit of that measure has continually governed me; uninfluenced by any attempts to deter or divert me from it.

“ After deliberate examination, with the aid of the best lights I could obtain, I was well satisfied that our country, under all the circumstances of the case, had a right to take, and was bound in duty and interest to take, a neutral position. Having taken it, I determined, as far as should depend upon me, to maintain it with moderation, perseverance, and firmness.

“ The considerations which respect the right to hold this conduct it is not necessary on this occasion to detail. I will only observe, that according to my understanding of the matter, that right, so far from being denied by any of the belligerent powers, has been virtually admitted by all.

“ The duty of holding a neutral conduct may be inferred,

without anything more, from the obligation which justice and humanity impose on every nation in cases in which it is free to act, to maintain inviolate the relations of peace and amity toward other nations.

“ The inducements of interest for observing that conduct will best be referred to your own reflections and experience. With me a predominant motive has been to endeavour to gain time to our country to settle and mature its yet recent institutions, and to make progress without interruption to that degree of strength and consistency which is necessary to give it, humanly speaking, the command of its own fortunes.

“ Though, in reviewing the incidents of administration, I am unconscious of intentional error ; I am, nevertheless, too sensible of my defects not to think it probable that I may have committed many errors. Whatever they may be, I fervently beseech the Almighty to avert or mitigate the evils to which they may tend. I shall also carry with me the hope that my country will never cease to view them with indulgence ; and, that, after forty-five years of my life dedicated to its service with an upright zeal, the faults of incompetent abilities will be consigned to oblivion, as myself must soon be to the mansions of rest.

“ Relying on its kindness in this, as in other things, and actuated by that fervent love toward it, which is so natural to a man, who views in it the native soil of himself and his progenitors for several generations ; I anticipate with pleasing expectation that retreat, in which I promise myself to realise, without alloy, the sweet enjoyment of partaking, in the midst of my fellow-citizens, the benign influence of good laws, under a free government, the ever favourite object of my heart, and the happy reward, as I trust, of our mutual cares, labours, and dangers.”

“ G. WASHINGTON.”

United States, Sep. 17, 1796.

It was not enough for the French party to have succeeded in disgusting the President with the government, they were desirous of getting a successor appointed who should be of their own party; and, with this view, they not only endeavoured to influence the electors in favour of Mr. Jefferson, but to cast a degree of odium upon the government by reiterated complaints and threats of war. A Decree was solemnly passed by the Executive Directory, and was pompously delivered by the French Minister, Adet, to Mr. Pickering, the Secretary of State at Philadelphia, on the 27th of October, 1796.

DECREE:

“ The Executive Directory, considering, that, if it becomes the faith of the French nation to respect treaties or conventions, which secure to the flags of some neutral or friendly powers commercial advantages (if they should turn to the benefit of our enemies, either through the weakness of our allies or of neutrals, or through fear, through interested views, or through whatever motive) it would, *ipso facto*, warrant the inexecution of the articles in which they were stipulated—decrees as follows :

‘ All neutral or allied powers shall, without delay, be notified, that the flag of the French Republic will treat neutral vessels, either as to confiscation, as to searches, or capture, in the same manner as they shall suffer the English to treat them.’

“ The Minister of Foreign Relations is charged with the execution of the present resolve, which shall not be printed.

(A true copy.)

“ CARNOT, President.”

The Decree was accompanied by the following Note, to which the Secretary of State gave the annexed Answer :

NOTE PRESENTED TO THE AMERICAN SECRETARY
OF STATE BY CITIZEN ADET.

“ The undersigned Minister Plenipotentiary of the French Republic, in conformity to the orders of his Government, has the honour of transmitting to the Secretary of State of the United States a Resolution, taken by the Executive of the French Republic, on the 11th Messidor, 4th year, relative to the conduct which the ships of war of the Republic are to hold toward neutral vessels: ‘ The flag of the Republic will treat the flag of neutrals in the same manner as they shall suffer it to be treated by the English.’

“ The sentiments which the American Government have manifested to the undersigned Minister Plenipotentiary do not permit him to doubt, that they will see in its true light this measure, as far as it may concern the United States; and that they will also feel that it is dictated by imperious circumstances, and approved by justice.

“ Great Britain, during the war she has carried on against the Republic, has not ceased using every means in her power to add to that scourge, scourges still more terrible. She has roused the well-known liberality of the French nation to the detriment of that nation. Knowing how faithful France has always been in the observance of her treaties—knowing that it was a principle of the Republic to respect the flags of all nations, the British Government, from the beginning of the war, has caused neutral vessels, and, in particular, American vessels, to be detained, taken them into their ports, and dragged from them Frenchmen and French property. France, bound by a treaty with the United States, could find only a real disadvantage in the articles of that treaty, which caused to be respected as American property, English property found on board American vessels. They had a right, under this consideration, to expect that America would have taken steps in favour of her violated neutrality. One of the predecessors of the undersigned, in July 1793, applied on this subject to the government of the United

States, but he was not successful. Nevertheless, the National Convention, who, by their decree of the 9th of May, 1793, had ordered the seizure of enemy's property on board neutral vessels, declaring at the same time, that the measure should cease when the English should respect neutral flags, had excepted, on the 23d of the same month, the Americans from this general order. But the Convention was obliged soon to repeal the law, which contained this exception so favourable to the Americans: the manner in which the English conducted themselves, the manifest intention they had to stop the exportation of provisions from America to France rendered it unavoidable.

“ The National Convention by this had restored the equilibrium of neutrality which England had destroyed; had discharged their duty in a manner justified by a thousand past examples, as well as by the necessity of the then existing moment. They might, therefore, to recall the orders they had given to seize the enemy's property on board American vessels, have waited till the British government had first definitively revoked the same order, a suspension only of which was produced by the embargo laid by Congress the 26th of March, 1794; but as soon as they were informed, that, under orders of the government of the United States, Mr. Jay was directed to remonstrate against the vexatious measures of the English, they gave orders, by the law of the 12th Nivose, 3d year, to the ships of war of the Republic to respect American vessels, and the Committee of Public Safety, in their explanatory Resolve of the 14th of the same month, hastened to sanction the same principle. The National Convention and the Committee of Public Safety had every reason to believe, that this open and liberal conduct would determine the United States to use every effort to put a stop to the vexations imposed upon their commerce, to the injury of the French Republic. They were deceived in this hope; and, though a treaty of friendship, navigation, and commerce, between Great Britain and the United States, had been signed six weeks

before France adopted the measure I have just spoken of; the English did not abandon the plan they had formed, and continued to stop and carry into their ports, all American vessels bound to French ports, or returning from them.

"This conduct was the subject of a note which the undersigned addressed on the 7th Vendemaire (29th September, 1793, O. S.) to the Secretary of State. The remonstrances which it contained were founded on the duties of neutrality, upon the principles which Mr. Jefferson had laid down in his Letter to Mr. Pinkney, dated the 13th of September, 1794. Yet this Note had remained without an answer, though recalled to the remembrance of the Secretary of State by a dispatch of the 9th of Germinal, 4th year, (29th of March, 1796, O. S.) and American vessels bound to French ports, or returning from them, have still been seized by the English. Indeed more; they have added a new vexation to those they had already imposed upon Americans: they have impressed seamen from on board American vessels, and have thus found the means of strengthening their crews at the expense of the Americans, without the Government of the United States having made known to the undersigned the steps they had taken to obtain satisfaction for this violation of neutrality, so hurtful to the interests of France, as the undersigned hath set forth in his dispatches to the Secretary of State of the 9th of Germinal, 4th year, (29th of March, 1796, O. S.) 19th Germinal, (8th of April, 1796,) and 11th-Floreal, (20th April, 1796,) which have remained without an answer.

"The French Government finds itself, with respect to America, in the present time, in circumstances similar to those of the year 1793, and if it sees itself obliged to adopt measures which may offend neutral powers in general, the Government ought to conduct they pursued, and to those who might be injured, the blame should fall upon the British Government, and not their conduct which the French Government has been obliged to follow.

"The undersigned Minister Plenipotentiary conceives it

to be his duty to remark to the Secretary of State, that the neutral governments, or the allies of the Republic, have nothing to fear as to the treatment of their flag by the French, since, in keeping within the bounds of their neutrality, they cause the right of that neutrality to be respected by the English, the Republic will respect them. But if, through weakness, partiality, or other motives, they should suffer the English to sport with that neutrality, and turn it to their advantage, could they then complain if France, to restore the balance of neutrality to its equilibrium, shall act in the same manner as the English? No, certainly; for the neutrality of a nation consists in granting to belligerent powers the same advantages; and that neutrality no longer exists, when, in the course of the war, that neutral nation grants to one of the belligerent powers advantages not stipulated by treaties anterior to the war, or suffers that power to seize upon them. The neutral government cannot then complain, if the other belligerent power will enjoy advantages, which its enemy enjoys, or if it seizes on them; otherwise that neutral government would deviate with respect to it from the line of neutrality, and would become its enemy.

“The undersigned Minister Plenipotentiary thinks it useless further to develop these principles. He does not doubt that the Secretary of State feels all their force; and that the government of the United States will maintain from all violation, a neutrality which France has always respected, and will always respect, whenever her enemies do not make it turn to her detriment.

“The undersigned Minister Plenipotentiary embraces this opportunity of reiterating to the Secretary of State the assurance of his esteem; and informs him, at the same time, that he will cause this Note to be printed, in order to make publicly known the motives which, at the present juncture, influence the French Republic.”

“Done at Philadelphia, 6th Brumaire, 5th year of the French Republic, one and indivisible, (27th of October, 1799, O. S.)”

(Signed)

“P. A. ADET.”

ANSWER TO CITIZEN ADET'S NOTE TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE.

SIR, *Department of State, Nov. 1, 1796.*

“ I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Note, of the 27th ult. covering a Decree of the Executive Directory of the French Republic, concerning the commerce of neutral nations.

“ This Decree makes no distinction between neutral powers, who can claim only the rights secured to them by the law of nations, and others between whom and the French Republic treaties have imposed special obligations. Where no treaties exist, the Republic, by seizing and confiscating the property of their enemies, found on board neutral vessels, would only exercise an acknowledged right under the law of nations. If toward such neutral nations the French Republic has forbore to exercise this right the forbearance has been perfectly gratuitous. The United States, by virtue of their treaty of commerce with France, stand on different ground.

“ In the year 1778, France voluntarily entered into a commercial treaty with us on principles of perfect reciprocity, and expressly stipulating *that free ships should make free goods*: that is, if France should be at war with any nation with whom the United States should be at peace, the goods, (except contraband) and the persons of her enemies (soldiers in actual service excepted) found on board French vessels, were also to be free from capture. That, on the other hand, if the United States should engage in war with any nation while France remained at peace—then the goods (except contraband) and the persons of her enemies (soldiers in actual service excepted) found on board French vessels were also to be free from capture: this is plainly expressed in the 23d article of that treaty, and demonstrates, that the reciprocity thereby stipulated was to operate at *different periods*; that is, at one time in favour of one of the contracting parties and of the other at another time. At the present time, the United States being at peace, they

possess, by the treaty, the right of carrying the goods of the enemies of France without subjecting them to capture. But what do the spirit of the decree of the Executive Directory and the current of your observations require? that the United States should now, gratuitously renounce this right! And what reason is assigned for denying to us the enjoyment of this right? your own words furnish the answer: ‘France, *bound by treaty* to the United States, *could find only a real disadvantage* in the article of that treaty, which caused to be respected as American property English property found on board American vessels. This requisition, and the reasons assigned to support it, alike excite surprise. The American Government, Sir, conscious of the purity of its integrity, of its impartial observance of the laws of neutrality, and of its inviolable regard to treaties, cannot, for a moment, admit, that it has forfeited the right to claim a reciprocal observance of stipulations on the part of the French Republic, whose friendship, moreover, it has ever cultivated with perfect sincerity. This right, formerly infringed by a decree of the National Convention, was recognised anew by the repeal of that decree; why it should be again questioned we are at a loss to determine. We are ignorant of any new restraints on our commerce by the British Government; on the contrary, we possess recent official information, that *no new orders have been issued*. The captures made by the British of American vessels, having French property on board, are warranted by the law of nations: the force and operation of this law was contemplated by France and the United States when they formed their treaty of commerce, and their stipulation on this point was meant as an exception to an universal rule. Neither our weakness nor our strength have any choice when the question concerns the observance of a known rule of the law of nations.

“You are pleased to remark that the conduct of Great Britain, in capturing American vessels bound to and from the French ports, had been the subject of a note, which, on the 29th of September, 1795, you addressed to the Secretary

of State, but which remained without an answer. Very sufficient reasons may be assigned for omission.—The subject, in all its aspects, had been already officially and publicly discussed, and the principles and ultimate measures of the United States, founded on their indisputable rights, were as publicly fixed. But if the subject had not, by the previous discussions, been already exhausted, can it be a matter of surprise that there should be a repugnance to answer a letter containing such insinuations as these: ‘It must, then, be clear to every man, who will discard prejudice, love, hatred, and, in a word, all the passions which lead judgment astray, that the French Republic would have a right to complain, when the American Government suffered the English to interrupt the commercial relations which exist between her and the United States, if, by a *perfidious condescension*, it permitted the English to violate a right, which it ought, *for its honour and interest*, to defend; if, under the *cloak of neutrality*, it presented to Eng^land a *poignard*, to cut the throat of its faithful ally! if, in fine, *partaking in the tyrannical and homicidal rage of Great Britain*, it concurred to plunge the people of France into the horrors of famine?’ For the sake of preserving harmony, silence was preferred to a comment upon these insinuations.

“You are, also, pleased to refer to your letters of March and April last, relative to impressing of American seamen by British ships, and complain, that the Government of the United States had not made known to you the steps they had taken, to obtain satisfaction. This, sir, was a matter which concerned only that government as an independent nation; we were not bound to render an account to any other, of the measures we deemed proper for the protection of our own citizens, so long as there was not the slightest ground to suspect that the government ever acquiesced in any aggression.

“But permit me to recur to the subject of the decree of

the Executive Directory ; as before observed, we are officially informed, that the British government have issued no orders for capturing the vessels of the United States—We are also officially informed, that on the appearance of the notification of that decree, the minister of the United States, at Paris, applied for information —‘ Whether orders were issued for the seizure of neutral vessels ; and was informed, that no such order was issued, and further, that none such would be issued in case the British did not seize our vessels.’ This communication, from the Minister of the United States at Paris to their Minister in London, was dated the 28th of August. But the decree of the Directory bears date the 14th Messidor, answering to the 2d of July. These circumstances, together with some observations in your Note, leave the American Government in a state of uncertainty of the real intentions of the government of France. Allow me to ask, whether in the actual state of things, our commerce is considered as liable to suffer any new restrictions on the part of the French Republic ? Whether the restraints now exercised by the British Government are considered as of a nature to justify a denial of those rights which are pledged to us by our treaty with your nation ? Whether orders have been actually given to the ships of war and privateers of the French Republic to capture the vessels of the United States ? And what, if they exist, are the precise terms of those orders ?

“ These questions, sir, you will see, are highly interesting to the United States. It is with extreme concern that the government feels itself reduced to the necessity of asking an explanation of this nature ; and if it shall be informed, that a new line of conduct is to be adopted toward this country, on the ground of the decree referred to, its surprise will equal its regret, that principles should now be questioned, which, after repeated discussions, both here and in France, have been demonstrated to be founded, as we conceive, in the obligations of impartial neutrality, of stipulations by treaty, and of the law of nations. I hope, sir,

you will find it convenient, by an early answer, to remove the suspense in which the government of the United States is now held on the questions above stated.

"I shall close this Letter by one remark on the singularity of your causing the publication of your note. As it concerned the United States, it was properly addressed to its government, to which alone pertained the right of communicating it in such time and manner, as it shall think fit, to the citizens of the United States.

"I am, sir, &c.

"TIMOTHY PICKERING."

"To M. Adet, Minister Plenipotentiary of the French Republic."

Philadelphia, Nov. 3, 1796.

Whilst citizen Adet was thus endeavouring to rouse the French party in America, by his inflammatory appeals, the Directory calculated so strongly upon being able to influence the election, and get a president chosen from among their friends, that they refused to acknowledge the ambassador, appointed by the existing government, to reside at Paris. They were, however, disappointed, and Mr. John Adams, of what was called, in France, the English party, was chosen to the chief magistracy.

CHAPTER XXII.

Moderation of the new American Government.—Capture of American Vessels by the French.—Messrs. Pinckney, Marshall, and Gerry, sent to Paris, as Envoys, to adjust existing Differences.—Talleyrand refuses to receive them officially.—They are inveigled into a very strange Intrigue.—The Account they published of this extraordinary Transaction.—The American Envoys quit Paris in disgust.—Ferment in America on the Ambassadors making their Report.—Energetic Language of the Secretary Pickering on the Conduct of the French Government.

PRINCIPLES of extreme moderation marked the conduct of the new American government; and, though the corsairs of France seized upon all American vessels, and condemned them upon the most frivolous pretences, the Philadelphian Government did not make reprisal, but hoped to bring the enemy to reason by amicable negotiation. An embassy, consisting of the envoys extraordinary, was sent to France in the summer of 1797, with full powers to adjust the differences between the two governments; and the whole spirit of their instructions were conformable to the ensuing paragraph.

“Conscious integrity authorises the government to insist, that no blame or censure be, directly or indirectly, imputed to the United States. But, on the other hand, however exceptionable in the view of our own Government, and in the eyes of an impartial world may have been the conduct of France, yet she may be unwilling to acknowledge any aggressions, and we do not wish to wound her feelings or

to excite resentment. It will, therefore, be best to adopt on this point the principle of the British treaty, and 'terminate our differences in such manner, as, without referring to the merits of our respective complaints and pretensions, may be the best calculated to produce mutual satisfaction and good understanding.' "

Upon the arrival of the ministers, PINCKNEY, MARSHALL, and GERRY at Paris, they were to obtain an audience of the French minister for foreign affairs, but they could only obtain permission to pay him a private visit to deliver their full powers. Those powers the Minister perused, and put in his pocket, but would neither present the ambassadors to the Directory, or receive them officially himself. After the envoys had been sometime left to puzzle themselves as to what line of conduct the French designed, or that they should be obliged to pursue, a person in a respectable situation (Mr. W.) called upon them, to tell them that another respectable person (Mr. X.) would call upon them; and when Mr. X. did call, he told them that he was authorised by Mr. Y. who was directed by the minister Talleyrand, to inform them that the Directors were very angry with America, but he wished to bring about a reconciliation; and, as they all wanted pocket-money very much, if the envoys would give the Minister 50,000*l.* to divide between him and the Directors, and would give 32,000,000 of florins for 16,000,000 worth of Dutch rescriptions, held by France; he would undertake to mediate a peace, and to appease the wrath of their Republican majority. The Americans, unbackbied in the ways of diplomacy, felt themselves to be bamboozled by

these unaccredited swindlers for about ten days, in the course of which they were frequently told, that the destruction of England was inevitable; that, therefore, the arts of that nation would go over to America, if she was wise enough to secure the forbearance of France; that, if she should be weak enough to place any reliance upon the friendship of England, the fate of Venice would certainly overtake her; and that they might form some opinion of what would be the consequence of provoking the resentment of the Directors, by the treatment that the Portuguese ambassador had received a few days before. He, they were told, had been sent about his business, with the insulting intelligence, that an army should follow upon his heels, till it got possession of the whole of his country.

Talleyrand has attempted to disavow his connexion with the instruments of this intrigue; but, notwithstanding all the art with which it was managed on their part, and the inertness of the incautious Americans, it will be very difficult to reconcile the innocence of the Minister for Foreign Affairs, with his having dispatched Mr. Z. just at the time when the Envoys had refused to treat with W. X. Y.; and, when he himself makes the identical proposal to fill the Dutch rescriptions.

It was at the moment when peace was first concluded with the Emperor, that Talleyrand saw the probable failure of his scheme with regard to the bribe and the loan, and he hoped to terrify the Envoys into submission, by representing to them, in a strong light, the new situation that their country was placed in, in consequence of France having her forces disengaged. The subsequent Narrative of the ministers

will be sufficient to characterise the whole transaction:

“On the 27th of October, about twelve we received another visit from M. X. He immediately mentioned the great event announced in the paper, and then said, that some proposals from us had been expected on the subject on which we had before conversed; that the Directory were becoming impatient, and would take a decided course with regard to America if we could not soften them. We answered, that on that subject we had already spoken explicitly, and had nothing farther to add. He mentioned the change in the state of things, which had been produced by the peace with the Emperor, as warranting an expectation of a change in our system; to which we only replied, that this event had been expected by us, and would not, in any degree, affect our conduct. M. X. urged, that the Directory had, since this peace, taken a higher and more decided tone with respect to us and all other neutral nations than had been before taken; that it had been determined that all nations should aid them, or be considered and treated as their enemies. We answered, that such an effect had already been contemplated by us as probable, and had not been overlooked when we gave to this proposition our decided answer; and further, that we had no powers to negotiate for a loan of money; that our government had not contemplated such a circumstance in any degree whatever; that, if we should stipulate a loan, it would be a perfectly void thing, and would only deceive France and expose ourselves. M. X. again expatiated on the power and violence of France: he urged the danger of our situation, and pressed the policy of softening them, and of thereby obtaining time. The present men, he said, would, very probably, not continue long in power; and it would be very unfortunate, if those who might succeed, with better disposition towards us, should find the two nations in actual war. We answered, that if war should be made on us by France, it would be so obviously forced on us, that on a

change of men, peace might be made with as much facility as the present differences could be accommodated : we added, that all America deprecated a war with France ; but that our present situation was more ruinous to us than a declared war would be ; that at present our commerce was plundered and unprotected ; but that if war was declared, we should seek the means of protection. M. X. said, he hoped we should not form a connexion with Britain ; and we answered, that we hoped so too ; that we had all been engaged in our revolution war, and felt its injuries ; that it had made the deepest impression on us ; but that, if France should attack us, we must seek the best means of self-defence. M. X. again returned to the subject of money : said he, "Gentlemen, you do not speak to the point—it is money : it is expected that you will offer money"—We said we had spoken to that point very explicitly : we had given an answer. "No," said he, "you have not ; what is your answer ?" "We replied, it is no ; no ; not a sixpence." He again called our attention to the dangers which threatened our country, and asked, if it would not be prudent, though we might not make a loan to the nation, to interest an influential friend in our favour. He said, we ought to consider what men we had to treat with ; that they disregarded the justice of our claims, and the reasoning with which we might support them ; that they disregarded their own colonies ; and considered themselves as perfectly invulnerable with respect to us ; that we could only acquire an interest among them by a judicious application of money ; and it was for us to consider, whether the situation of our country did not require that these means should be resorted to, We observed, that the conduct of the French Government was such as to leave us much reason to fear, that, should we give the money, it would effect no good purpose, and would not produce a just mode of thinking with respect to us. He said, that, when we employed a lawyer, we gave him a fee, without knowing whether the cause would be gained or no ; but it was necessary to have one, and we paid for his ser-

vices, whether those services were successful or not: for, in the present state of things, the money must be advanced for the good offices the individuals were to render, whatever might be the effect of those good offices. We told him, there was no parallel in the cases; that a lawyer, not being to render the adjudgment, could not command success: he could only endeavour to obtain it; and, consequently, we could only pay him for his endeavours: but the Directory could decide on the issue of our negotiation. It had only to order that no more American vessels should be seized, and to direct those now in custody to be restored, and there could be no opposition to the order. He said, that all the members of the Directory were not disposed to receive our money: that Merlin, for instance, was paid from another quarter, and would touch no part of the douceur which was to come from us. We replied, that we understood that Merlin was paid by the owners of the privateers; and he nodded an assent to the fact. He proceeded to press this subject with vast perseverance. He told us that we paid money to obtain peace with the Algerines and with the Indians; and that it was doing no more to pay France for peace. To this it was answered, that when our government commenced a treaty with either Algiers or the Indian tribes, it was understood that money was to form the basis of the treaty, and was its essential article; that the whole nation knew it, and was prepared to expect it as a thing of course; but, that in treating with France, our government had supposed that the proposition, such as he spoke of, would, if made by us, give mortal offence.

“He asked, if our government did not know, that nothing was to be obtained here without money? We replied, that our government had not even suspected such a state of things.—He appeared surprised at it, and said, there was not an American in Paris who could not have given that information. We told him that the letters of our Minister had indicated a very contrary temper in the government of France, and had represented it as acting entirely

upon principle, and as feeling a very pure and disinterested affection for America. He looked somewhat surprised, and said, briskly, to General Pinckney; "Well, sir, you have been a long time in France and in Holland—what do you think of it?" General Pinckney answered, that he considered M. X. and M. Y. as men of truth, and of consequence; he could have but one opinion on the subject.—He stated that Hamburgh and other states of Europe were obliged to buy a peace; and that it would be equally for our interest to do so. Once more he spoke on the danger of a breach with France, and of her power, which nothing could resist. We told him, that it would be in vain for us to deny her power, or the solicitude we felt to avoid a contest with it; that no nation estimated her power more highly than America, or wished more to be on amicable terms with her; but that one object was still dearer to us than the friendship of France—which was our national independence: that America had taken a neutral station; she had a right to take it; no nation had a right to force us out of it; that to lend a sum of money to a belligerent power, abounding in everything requisite for war but money, was to relinquish our neutrality, and take part in the war; to lend this money under the lash and coercion of France, was to relinquish the government of ourselves, and to submit to a foreign government imposed upon us by force; that we would at least make one manly struggle before we thus surrendered our national independence; that our case was different from one of the minor nations in Europe; they were unable to maintain their independence, and did not expect to do so: America was a great, and, so far as concerned her self-defence, a powerful nation; she was able to maintain her independence; and must deserve to lose it, if she permitted it to be wrested from her; that France and Britain had been at war for near fifty years of the last hundred, and might probably be at war for fifty years of the century to come; that America had no motives, which could induce her to involve herself in those wars;

and that if she now preserved her neutrality and her independence, it was most probable that she would not in future be afraid, as she had been for four years past ; but if she now surrendered her rights of self-government to France, or permitted them to be torn from her, she could not expect to recover them, or to remain neutral in any future war. He said that France had lent us money during our Revolution war, and only required that we should now exhibit the same friendship for her. We answered, that the cases were very different : that America solicited a loan from France, and left her at liberty to grant or refuse it ; but that France demanded it from America, and left us no choice on the subject. We also told him, there was another difference in the cases ; that the money was lent by France for great national and French objects ; it was lent to maim a rival, and an enemy whom she hated ; that the money, if lent by America, would not be for any American objects, but to enable France to extend still further her conquests. The conversation continued for nearly two hours ; and the public and private advance of money was pressed and repressed in a variety of forms. At length M. X. said that he did not blame us ; that our determination was certainly proper, if we could keep it : but he showed decidedly his opinion to be that we could not keep it. He said that he would communicate, as nearly as he could, our conversation to the Minister, or to M. Y. to be given by him to the Minister ; we are not certain which. We then separated. On the 22^d of October, M. Z. a French gentleman, of respectable character, informed Mr. Gerry, that M. Talleyrand, Minister of Foreign Relations, who professed to be well disposed towards the United States, had expected to have seen the American Ministers frequently in their private capacities, and to have conferred with them individually on the objects of their mission ; and had authorized M. Z. to make this communication to Mr. Gerry. The latter sent for his colleagues, and a conference was held with M. Z. on the subject, in which

General Pinckney and General Marshall expressed their opinions, that, not being acquainted with M. Talleyrand, they could not with propriety call on him; but that, according to the custom of France, he might expect this of Mr. Gerry, from a previous acquaintance in America. This Mr. Gerry reluctantly complied with on the 23d, and, with M. Z. called on M. Talleyrand, who not being then at his office, appointed the 28th for the interview. After the first introduction, M. Talleyrand began the conference. He said, that the Directory had passed an *arrête*, which he offered for perusal, in which they had demanded of the Envoys an explanation of some parts, and a reparation for others, of the President's speech to Congress of the 16th of May last: he was sensible, he said, that difficulties would exist on the part of the Envoys, relative to the demand: but that by their offering money, he thought he could prevent the effect of the *arrête*. M. Z. at the request of Mr. Gerry, having stated the Envoys have no such powers; M. Talleyrand replied, they can in such case take a power on themselves; and proposed that they should make a loan. Mr. Gerry then addressed M. Talleyrand distinctly, in English, which he said he understood, and stated, that the uneasiness of the Directory, resulting from the President's speech, was a subject unconnected with the objects of the mission; that M. Barras, in his speech to Mr. Munroe, on his recal, had expressed himself in a manner displeasing to the Government and citizens of the United States; that the President, as the Envoys conceived, had made such observations on M. Barras's Speech as were necessary to vindicate the honour of the United States; that this was not considered by our government as a subject of dispute between the two nations; that, having no instructions respecting it, we could not make any explanations, or reparations relating to it; and that M. Talleyrand himself was sufficiently acquainted with the constitution of the United States to be convinced of the truth of these observations.

“ Mr. Gerry further stated, that the powers of the Envoys, as they conceived, were adequate to the discussion and adjustment of all points of real difference between the two nations ; that they could alter and amend the treaty, or, if necessary, form a new one ; that the United States were anxiously desirous of removing all causes of complaint between themselves and France, and of renewing their former friendship and intercourse on terms which would be mutually honourable and beneficial to the two nations, but not on any other terms ; that, as to a loan, we had no powers whatever to make one ; that if we were to attempt it we should deceive himself and the Directory likewise, which, as men of honour, we could not do ; but that we could send one of our number for instructions on this proposition, if deemed expedient, provided that the other objects of the negotiation could be discussed and adjusted ; that, as he had expressed a desire to confer with the envoys individually, it was the wish of Mr. Gerry that such a conference should take place, and their opinions thus be ascertained, which he conceived corresponded with his own in the particulars mentioned. M. Talleyrand, in answer, said, he should be glad to confer with the other envoys individually, but that this matter about the money must be settled directly, without sending to America ; that he would not communicate the arrête for a week ; and that if we could adjust the difficulty respecting the speech, an application would nevertheless go to the United States for a loan. A courier arrived at this moment from Italy, and M. Talleyrand appearing impatient to read the letters, Mr. Gerry took leave of him immediately. He followed to the door, and desired M. Z. to repeat to Mr. Gerry what he, M. Talleyrand, had said to him. Mr. Gerry then returned to his quarters with M. Z. took down the particulars of this interview, as before stated, sent for Generals Pinckney and Marshall, and read it to them, in the presence of M. Z. who confirmed it. Generals Pinckney and Marshall then de-

fired M. Z. to inform M. Talleyrand that they had nothing to add to this conference, and did not wish that the *arrête* might be delayed on their account."

It would be endless to detail the whole system of chicanery that the ministers suffered until they took the resolution to hear no more. Messrs. Pickering and Marshall refused to continue in France after the insulting treatment that they had received during four months, and in February 1798 returned to America. Mr. Gerry waited the orders of his government, and was recalled, after having exposed himself to be inveigled by Talleyrand's professions of peculiar esteem.

A general ferment took place in America when the Report of the ambassadors was laid before the legislative bodies, and the government made every preparation for maintaining their right by war; the French party was, however, sufficiently strong to throw considerable obstacles in the way, and, notwithstanding the strong proofs to the contrary, to persuade a great part of the people that the Directory were desirous of peace.

There perhaps, never was a stronger instance of a foreign power directing the affairs of a state against its own government and interest than this. The honour and independence of the country, as well as the stability and integrity of the government, demanded the punishment of the insults that had been offered to the Ministers; but a base and dastardly attachment to peace deprived the people of their understandings and prepared them to believe the falsehoods circulated by the emissaries of France. Still the government assumed a posture of defence: General Washington was called to take the command

of the army, and a naval force was ordered for the protection of the trade. The result was well stated by the secretary, Pickering, in a report laid before Congress, wherein he observes, that, "After America had borne a long series of insults and injuries with patient endurance, the Government of France expected its final submission." "Our resistance," he adds, "has excited its surprise, and has certainly increased its resentment—With some soothing expressions is heard the voice of wounded pride—Warmly professing its desire of reconciliation it gives no proof of its sincerity; but proofs in abundance, demonstrate that it is not sincere. From standing erect, and in that commanding attitude requiring implicit obedience, cowering, it renounces some of its unfounded demands. But I hope, we shall remember, "that the tiger crouches before he leaps on his prey."

There was evidently no want of acrimony between the two governments, but their distance prevented them from being brought into contact with each other, and the contest ended in a war of words.



CHAPTER XXIII.

State of Affairs in France under the Directory.—Intrigues of M. Talleyrand.—Conduct of the returned Emigrants.—Hopes of the exiled Royalists.—The Fallacy of their Expectations. from their impolitic Conduct —Their forlorn Condition.—Disappointments of the Parties in the War.—Motives and Manœuvres of the English Government to effect a Union between Great Britain and Ireland.—Money Matters.

PARIS, under the Directory, became the centre of intrigues, the most unprincipled and corrupt, and the features of stern Republican justice degenerated into smiles of sycophancy and favouritism. Monsieur Talleyrand Perigord, ex-bishop of Autun, evinced a strong predilection for the re-establishment of priestly government, and soon attached to him a private synod of his ancient friends, who demonstrated a grateful willingness to pay before-hand the services he was about to do them, by a discreet exposition and use of Solomon's Proverb—"Money answereth all things." The emigrant priests and nobles, who had, in vain, sued, in the name of justice, for permission to return to their country now found the way smoothed by the cupidity of the oily-tongued minister and his speculating masters. The sufferings which these unfortunate persons had borne, had reduced many of them to very humiliating circumstances, and though great numbers of them received small pensions from the governments where they had taken refuge, it was desirable to return home upon any terms. Numbers of them took measures for turning the vices of the government to their own

account, and the proper application of money procured the erasure of their names from the lists of emigrants.

The family of the late King augured favourably for their cause by these events, but they displayed as little judgment in this as in any other instance. It was a love of self, and a very natural love of self, that induced these emigrants to flee from the long suffering they had endured, to seek for rest and tranquillity in the bosom of their country; and it was not in the nature of things that any great number of those persons would again expose themselves to more severe or even similar sufferings in a hopeless adventure: yet the princes of that family, and the courts to which they were allied, dreamed and constantly dreamed, of counter revolutions being effected by means of these emigrants. It was argued that the crimes of the governments afforded them opportunities of adducing proofs of its wickedness to the people, and interesting them in its overthrow; but it was forgotten, that each individual emigrant had an interest in concealing those crimes, and the moment of their exposure would destroy the validity of his passport.

There was, however, another instance of mistaken policy, which was much more fatal to the Bourbons, and rendered their cause perfectly hopeless, which was, a resolution maintained both by them and their adherents, to disturb all the possessions that had been made in consequence of the revolution, and to restore all the lands to their true owners. A more impolitic determination could not have been entered into, as it united all existing interests against the restoration, and

still limited their means to simple conquest, which had so repeatedly failed. Partial disturbances, however, still continued in the Western departments, and two celebrated chiefs, Frotté and Georges contrived to keep a powerful army of Royalists together, who fought in the name of Louis XVIII. This prince had found an asylum in the dominions of Russia; his brother, the Count Artois, and some of the other princes had taken refuge in Great Britain, and some of the family resided in Germany, so that they scarcely retained the semblance of a court. The Allies disregarded them in their treaties for peace, and the war, which, in its commencement, was pretended to be undertaken for their interest, had proceeded far enough to shew that the Combined Powers had used that family as a mere stalking horse, without designing to secure for them a single colony, a single ship of their navy, or any indemnification whatever. Many of the sincerest Royalists became politically attached to the Republic from this consideration, without suffering themselves to be hurried further by their self love than a prudent attention to all the circumstances warranted, and hopes were encouraged by the Bourbons and their friends, from want of resolution to abandon them, more than from any reasonable ground whereon they could rest.

All the parties who had originally commenced the war, had now seen the objects flee before them for which it had been undertaken. The Bourbons were all become subjects in foreign countries, instead of establishing an unlimited despotism in their family; the Allies, who had calculated upon the dismemberment of France were now content to act purely upon the defensive, and deemed themselves more than

happy if they could secure the integrity of their own dominions, and the French instead of giving liberty to the states whose governments they had insulted and attacked, had increased the arbitrary power of those governments, and even exchanged the spirit of liberty, which they had themselves once possessed, for a tyranny the most unblushing and offensive. Amidst the convulsion, the Directory kept up the menace of invasion against England, and the attention of that power continued to be occupied in strengthening itself in case of attack. As a mean of consolidating its power, the English Government exerted its endeavours to unite the legislative authorities of Great Britain and Ireland in one body. The policy of this measure was, by giving equal interest to all parts of the empire to unite all in its defence, and it would be fortunate for mankind if Government were always actuated by views equally wise and equitable.

This object was effected by the administration of Mr. Pitt, and we are the more happy in being able to acknowledge its merits, as there are so few of the acts of that administration which we think entitled to praise. It must not, however, be supposed, that because the measure was both wise and just, the good citizens of either London or Dublin suffered it to pass without opposition. It was suggested by the *minister*, and such was the unhappy spirit that had gone abroad in those times, that great multitudes of people both in Great Britain and Ireland, acquired the title of patriots, for no other reason, than because they quarrelled with every thing, that the minister did, whether it were right or wrong. The people of Ireland were told, that, if their representatives met at London instead of Dublin, they would be

ruined beyond recovery. They had, it was acknowledged, suffered all the horrors of dissention and discord, but they had the satisfaction of knowing all these horrors were their own; they would, on the contrary, if the Union were to take place, have to charge their misfortunes upon a parliament sitting in another country; and, after submitting to such indelible disgrace, they might bid farewell to all ideas of independence. Independence was the catchword, and as soon as the Foxites in England sent it abroad, it flew round Ireland, from borough to borough, like the alarming intelligence of a fall in the market price of votes; and all the independent members, and all the freemen who carried on the traffic of selling seats in Parliament, set up a universal shout, that *the liberties of Ireland were in danger*.

The Foxites of London and the buyers and sellers of Dublin, imagined that they were greatly embarrassing the ministry, by the obstacles that they threw in the way of this plan; but Pitt, who was in the secret, only laughed at them, for he knew that he could buy up all the patriotism that annoyed him, and prove to the good citizens that they had only been acting the part of puppets in the hands of more cunning knaves than themselves. Much credit has been given to Lord Castlereagh, who was appointed principle operator in conducting this intrigue, for the adroitness with which he smoothed down the difficulties as they arose; but those praises have been very undeservedly bestowed; the noble Lord required no talent superior to what is necessary to a huckster at a fair. The great parliamentary leaders of Ireland, found that they could bring their interest to a better market, if they threw difficulties

in the way of the minister, than if they fairly acknowledged the propriety of the measure; and hence they clamoured against the innovation as injurious to their country. To manage this, the Lord of the Intrigue had nothing to do, but to make the best bargain he could; and, accordingly, (as was lately declared in the House of Commons) as soon as he had distributed a sufficient quantum of pensions and reversions amongst them, they shed their tender love of Ireland as a lobster casts its shell, and they agreed to vote for the Union, as the only measure capable of saving the Empire!

Whilst the English Government was arming against its enemy in this way, a silent and irresistible foe was preparing to attack it, by means that were incapable of being counteracted. The pressure of the war and the demand for money had been so great in England for four or five years, that the capitalists hardly knew how to be extravagant enough in their demands for the loan of their wealth. The interest, or hire, or, as it might properly be called, the rent of money, became so high, that the nation could at one time only get £47 sterling for £100 stock, thus rendering itself liable to pay upwards of forty shillings in the pound for the principal, besides upwards of six per cent for its hire! The mischievous consequences of this career were so obvious, that, Mr. Pitt took the resolution of raising a great part of the supplies within the year by taxes, instead of loans. As a measure of finance this was an act of prudence, but it brought a sudden pressure upon the people that reduced them to great inconvenience and distress. The sudden levy of this extraordinary demand raised the price of all commodities beyond their usual price, and

excited a belief among the trading part of the people, that the prices would rise to an enormous height; this persuasion induced numbers of speculators to lay out all the property that they could muster in the purchase of corn, and promoted the very high prices, which would not have existed but for its own efforts. The speculative principle, which is innocent enough, nay highly useful, in a commercial country, was, in this instance, converted into a scourge of the most afflicting kind to the nation, by the facility with which fictitious capitals were raised and converted into corn; not for the purpose of supplying the wants of the country, but of withdrawing it from the use of the people, to store it up till it could fetch the highest possible prices. Paper currency was created to an enormous amount, by the confidence that commercial men agreed to repose in each other, and accommodation bills passed from hand to hand with all the value attached to them of sterling gold, and the storers of corn were enabled to keep their stocks from market without the least inconvenience. Provisions of all kinds, by these means, became excessively dear, and the Government found it extremely difficult to suppress the resentment of the people.

The French Government had possessed an advantage in financial affairs which gave it a decided superiority over its antagonists, for it had contrived to make the chief burden of the war fall upon other countries, as will appear by the following enumeration.

ENUMERATION

*Of the CONTRIBUTIONS, CONFISCATIONS, and RE-
QUISITIONS, by the French, on the Countries conquered
by them.*

	Livres.	£.Sterling.
Territory of his Imperial Majesty.....	1,402,350,000	56,094,000
Ditto of his Prussian Ma- jesty.....	5,980,000	239,200
Holland.....	873,745,000	34,949,800
Various territories, from Holland to Alsace ; par- ticularly the country between the Moselle, Meuse, and Rhine....	145,780,000	5,831,200
Triers.....	6,120,000	244,800
Palatinate	12,462,000	498,480
Deux Ponts.....	4,455,000	178,200
Suabia.....	57,758,408	2,310,337
Dutchy of Bergen.....	2,464,000	98,560
The Empire ; second Campaign.....	464,061,375	18,562,455
Wirtemberg.....	13,031,100	521,244
Bavaria.....	16,970,000	678,800
Baden.....	3,345,000	131,800
Milan, or Cisalpine Re- public.....	284,000,000	11,360,000
Sardinia ; a considerable tract of territory		
Modena.....	10,400,000	416,000
Lucca.....	5,000,000	200,000
Parma.....	3,850,000	154,000
Naples.....	150,000	6,000
Genoa.....	4,000,000	160,000

Carried over 3,315,921,883 £132,634,876

	Livres.	£. Sterling.
Brought forward	3,315,921,883	132,634,876
Tuscany	8,000,000	320,000
Imperial territory		
Venice.....	172,045,788	6,881,832
Spain.....	30,000,000	1,200,000
Portugal.....	36,000,000	1,440,000
Switzerland.....	10,300,000	412,000
Hamburg.....	7,000,000	280,000
Bremen and Lubec.....	3,000,000	120,000
Total.....	<u>3,582,267.671</u>	<u>£143,288,708</u>



CHAPTER XXIV.

Interesting Particulars regarding Buonaparté.—Anecdote of his Generosity to the Hostages of the Emperor.—His Contempt of the Orders of the Directory.—His irritability of Temper during the Discussions at Leoben.—An Instance of his Desire of Conquest, in sending Gentili to take Possession of the Greek Islands.—Marchesi, the Singer, ordered to quit Milan, for not accepting an Invitation of Madame Buonaparté.—Buonaparté procures a patriotic Italian Nobleman to be Shot.—Various Incidents which occurred during the Journey of Buonaparté from Italy to Paris.—Resemblance between him and Alexander.—Fête prepared for him at Lausanne.—Singular Observation of a Swiss Youth to Buonaparté.—Conversation of Buonaparté with a Swiss Landlord.—Anecdote of him and Count Ferzen.—His Respect for military Authority.—The interesting Ceremony of Buonaparté's Presentation to the Directory.—His Speech to the Directors.—Conclusion of the Entertainment.—His Election as a Member of the National Institute.—His Conduct at the Anniversary of the 21st of January.—Isolation of his Situation whilst he remained at Paris.

IN an elaborate Historical Work, which combines many tedious and desultory details, a recapitulation of facts is frequently requisite, that the memory may not be burthened by a long continued succession of events, and that the attention may be fixed on the more important transactions that are recorded; but, it is unnecessary to adopt this mode in the present instance, because its principal circumstances are strongly

characterized by their connexion with each other, and because it has been endeavoured to heighten the character and import of these circumstances, by bringing them forward, and placing them in the most striking points of view, and thus, to present a scene in which the relative position of each object is essential to the effect of the whole. In the composition of a picture the artist first sketches the most prominent features, because they are the essential constituent parts of his design; and, if his outline be drawn with a due regard to the rules of his art, a single glance will ascertain the subject, and the intended effect will be produced. To improve the picture, he arranges his subordinate objects, so as to give the most accurate idea of the whole.

In proceeding to sketch the biography of Buonaparté, the rapid succession of important events have not afforded an opportunity of offering to the attention some facts which, notwithstanding, are necessary to be noticed; they occurred from time to time under various circumstances, and in different situations; and they are now introduced to illustrate the character and conduct of the Hero.

It is related, in proof of the liberality of Buonaparté, that, when the preliminaries of Leoben were signed, the Emperor sent three of the principal nobility of his court as hostages, and that Buonaparté, having invited them to dine with him, said to them on the dessert being brought in, "Gentlemen, you are free.—Tell your Master that if his imperial word requires a pledge, you cannot serve as such; and, if it require none, that you ought not."

Buonaparté's impatience of controul was often manifested during the period he held his appoint-

ment of the Directory.— At the time when he commenced the negotiations which were concluded by the Peace of Leoben, he had determined not to return to Paris till he might appear there with the double eclat of a conqueror and a pacificator. He remained at the castle of Passeriano, near Udina, and in Italy, till the treaty was signed. He had frequently been recalled by the Directory, but he always neglected to notice their orders, and began to shew a degree of hauteur which little corresponded with his former apparent modesty; he refused to accept any generals into his army whom he did not approve, and sent home only so much of the contributions levied in Italy as he thought proper.

During the discussions at Leoben his irritability of temper often shewed itself. He was always treated with the greatest deference by the plenipotentiaries, but he was frequently so much chagrined by the tediousness of German forms, that he behaved to them very cavalierly: finding the first article of the proposed Preliminaries to contain an acknowledgment of the French Republic, he exclaimed with indignant warmth, “The French Republic is like the sun in the firmament, and blind are they who do not acknowledge its splendour.” The article was immediately erased. At one time having, upon some account or other, supposed that his colleagues had not treated the Republic with sufficient respect, or listened with sufficient attention to his proposals, he took up a china jar, that stood near him, and, dashing it on the ground, exclaimed, “Since you provoke me, thus will I reduce you to powder.” The Marquis de Gallo conducted himself with the greatest address and prudence, and so

much did he *dread* lest the petulance of Buonaparté's temper might put an end to the negotiations, that, one day, when the French General had hastily quitted the room in a pet, he ran after him, but not being able to overtake him, said, obsequiously, to one of his aides-de-camp, "Tell him, however, that I followed him to his carriage." Another day, after a very long debate, Buonaparté said with great warmth, "Well then, I will carry my answer to Vienna."

His love of conquest may be observed in the pains that he took, after he had revolutionized Italy, to take possession of the Greek Isles that had belonged to the Republic of Venice. He sent, from thence, a small fleet with a handful of troops on board, commanded by General Gentili; and his letter to the Directory, giving an account of the success of the expedition, contains some curious particulars, and shews, at the same time, how much he was flattered by conquering in the name of the Great Nation, those inconsiderable islands, which are so celebrated in ancient lore. The following is an extract from his dispatch:

"The 10th Messidor, our troops landed, and were received on shore by an immense crowd of people, who testified their joy by shouts of enthusiasm, such as never fails to animate those who recover their liberty. At the head of the people was their *Papa*, or first minister of religion, a well-informed man, and seemingly very old; he came up to General Gentili, and addressed him in these words—'Frenchmen, you will find in this island a people extremely ignorant of those arts and sciences which illustrate other nations; but despise them not on that account,

they may one day become again what they were before. Learn, in reading this book, to respect them.' The General opened the book, with great curiosity, which the *Papa* had presented to him, and was not a little surprised to see that it was the *Odyſſey* of Homer.—The islands of Zante, Céphalonia, and St. Maure, have expreſſed the ſame ardent wiſhes for liberty, and hope that, under the protection of the Great Nation, they will recover their long-loſt arts, ſciences, and commerce.

The following anecdote has been inſtanced, as a memorial of Buonaparté's reſentment of an affront. Its authenticity however is dubious. The celebrated ſinger Marcheſi, who reſided at Milan, near which place he had ſome property, was invited by Madame Buonaparté to dinner, when he was, no doubt, expected to entertain the company with his charming voice; being a great ariſtocrat, he reſuſed the invitation; it was repeated, and he reſuſed again; Buonaparté ſent his commands for him to attend; he perſiſted in reſuſing, and ſoon after received an order to quit Milan in ten hours. After he had ſet out, he received another meſſage, ordering him to retire to his country-houſe, about thirty miles from Milan, for ſix months., he remained there for that time, under a guard of ſix ſoldiers, whom he was obliged to maintain at his own expenſe.

A traveller of unqueſtionable impartiality (Mr. Holcroſt,) who has lately furniſhed a very intereſting work on the ſtate of ſociety and manners at Paris, from his own obſervations during a reſidence in that metropolis, and to whom Engliſh literature is indebted for ſeveral works that will ever be highly eſteemed.

by that part of the public whose admiration of talent and liberality of sentiment are superior to prejudice, has related a fact that cannot better be given than in his own words:

“I occasionally met” says he, “several Italians (at Paris) most of them people of rank, and some who had been high in office: they all spoke of Buonaparté with bitterness; and related tales, which, if true, would prove him to have been a treacherous tyrant at the time he began to command in Italy.

“When Buonaparté first came to Milan, professing himself the deliverer of a once great people, but now and long since miserably enchained by priestcraft and petty despotism, those who earnestly desired the emancipation and the happiness of their country received him with open arms. One of them, a Milanese nobleman of great influence, devoted his whole means and power to the cause, which he supposed the French sincerely intended to promote; and, for that purpose, in giving aid to Buonaparté, by whom he was then treated with the most flattering distinction.

“This nobleman had none but virtuous motives for his conduct; and he was, too soon, convinced that it was not for the cause of freedom which Buonaparté, and the armies of France fought: the avarice of individuals, the plunder of rich and poor, and the worst of motives, which selfishness, egotism, and national vanity could inspire, were daily more and more apparent.

“After some reverse of fortune which the French sustained in Italy, Buonaparté, once more, came to Milan; and the indignant patriot, instead of again promoting the views of the Conqueror, openly upbraided him with his want of good faith, his total dereliction

from the cause of freedom, and the atrocities committed or countenanced by him. The affront was unpardonable. To reprove a man who had armies at his command, though it shewed a noble and virtuous fortitude, the loyal Milanese soon found was a fatal step: Buonaparté caused him to be seized, put him under a guard, and sent accusations of him to the Directory, accompanied by pretended proofs that he was a traitor to freedom and to France. The end of this tragedy was, the death of the Italian; he was shot! and the passions of his enemy were shewn to be dangerous to the present and ominous to the future.

“This account I had from a man of rank and honour, an Italian, who assured me he absolutely knew all that he had related to be true.

“The remembrance of the depredations committed by the French, or their Chief, in Italy, will not quickly die away.”

Any observation upon this incident would be impertinent.

Buonaparté's journey, on quitting Italy, was marked by some interesting occurrences

He set out with the simple equipage of a private gentleman, attended by two generals, two aides-de-camp, a secretary, and a physician. At Geneva he dined with the French Resident, and, having been expected for some time, relays of horses were waiting for him, on the road, and immense crowds of people were all in earnest expectation to behold him. At Mondon, where he slept the night before, he had been received with great honors by the celebrated Colonel Weifs, the bailiff of the place, a man well known by his political and philosophical writings, by his zeal, and by his profound admiration of Buonaparté. Near

Avenche his carriage broke down, and he was obliged to walk for some miles. One among the crowd of spectators who assembled to see him, thus speaks of him :

“ I had an opportunity of being very near to him, and he seemed to me always to be talking to those around him as if he was thinking about something else : he has the mark of great sense in his countenance, and an air of profound meditation, which reveals nothing that is passing within ; he seems constantly big with deep thought, which will, some day or other, influence the destinies of Europe. A burgher of Morat, a man about five feet ten inches high, observed with astonishment the figure of the General. ‘ How small a stature for so great a man ! ’ cried he, loud enough to be heard by one of the aides-de-camp. ‘ He is exactly the height of Alexander,’ said some one. ‘ Yes,’ said the aid-de-camp, ‘ and that is not the only trait of resemblance.’ ”

“ At Faubroun, a little village, nine miles from Berne, he supped with a large party, who had, out of curiosity and respect, accompanied his train ; and after that he went on to Soleure. All the towns through which he passed in the night were illuminated. At Basle he stopped some hours, walked round the town, and received a long and fulsome address from the burgomaster. In passing through Laufanne, they had prepared a great fête for him, which he did not seem to enjoy ; three citizens stopped his carriage and presented to him three young women, who repeated some fine complimentary verses, which they had got by heart ; an immense crowd assembled about him, and testified great joy by their shouts and acclamations. He thanked them with great good humour but seemed to have more need of sleep than of com-

pliments : he appeared, indeed, every where to shew a profound contempt for popular opinion and popular applause. He spoke very little to strangers through his whole journey, and seemed to be sensible that every word he said would be noted."

The government of Berne had sent a deputy to him at Milan, who accompanied him on his journey, and had a son with him, a boy about thirteen years old, and of very quick parts, much above his age. Buonaparté seemed always very fond of talking to him. He found him one day with a map of Switzerland. "What are you looking at there?" said the General. "Some parts of my own country which I am not acquainted with," replied the Youth. "Do you know that part?" said Buonaparté, pointing to Porentrui. "That does not belong to us," replied the Youth. "We mean to give it you," returned the General. "And what do you mean to ask in exchange?" said the Boy. "Nothing," said Buonaparté, "we will make you a present of it." "Nothing!" returned the Youth, thoughtfully. "*Ah! Timeo Danaos et dona ferentes.*" Buonaparté immediately turned to his father, and said "Take care of the Boy's education; he will be no common man, some day or other."

When he came near to the little village of Faubroun, which is surrounded with thick fir trees, he got out of his carriage and walked to the inn, humming the tune of "*Paisible bois.*" He talked very freely with the landlord, and asked him if he paid many taxes? "No," said the man, "we hardly know what they are." "Have you no land of your own?" Yes, about fifty pounds a year." "Do you pay no taxes for that?" "Yes, the tithes and quit

rent, which are no more than the annual wages of one of my husbandmen; I reckoned that in the expense of working my land, and I paid for it accordingly."

"Does your government levy no tax upon the land?"

"None" "How then does it pay its expenses?"

"With the produce of its domains, which is not only sufficient for the purpose, but leaves a balance every year." "You are very well satisfied with your government then, I suppose?" "And so I ought to be," replied the landlord, "with a government which does great good to the poor and no harm to the rich." "If all this be true," said Buonaparté, turning to one of his officers, "these are the happiest people in the world."

Buonaparté, after passing through Switzerland, stopped at Rastadt to open the conferences of the Congress, and then proceeded on his journey. During his short stay at that place he gave a specimen of what the other powers of Europe had to expect from him and the French Republic, by his treatment of Count Ferzen, the envoy of Sweden to the Congress, a man well known for his attachment to the old court of France and his hatred to the Revolution. When he was introduced to him, Buonaparté received him coolly, but with civility, and then asked what minister the Court of Sweden had at Paris. To which the Count replied, with evident confusion, "None." Buonaparté then expressed his surprise that the King should send a person to meet the plenipotentiaries, who was essentially disagreeable to every French citizen. He remarked, that the King would be much offended if a French minister should be sent to Stockholm, who had endeavoured to excite the people to insurrection; and, by the same rule, the French Republic could not suffer his Majesty to send men

too well known for their attachment to the old court, to face the ministers of the first nation on earth, which well knew how to preserve its dignity. The Count retired, much irritated and confused, saying, "he should report to his Majesty what he had just heard."

Buonaparté, after his arrival at Paris, flunned every opportunity of being noticed: he lived in a small house and retired street; he received very little company; he avoided all crowded places, and never went out but in a plain carriage with two horses; he dined sometimes with the different ministers of state, and never appeared but twice at any public meeting; in doing this, he complied with his natural disposition. He appeared to content popular applause, and he avoided giving any offence to the Directory, who, before he left Italy, had appointed him to the command of the army of England.

The policy of Buonaparté appears to have been, to gain popularity by seeming to avoid it, by the shew of great moderation, and by a public expression of his aversion to Jacobin principles: he dreaded their power as a party, though, as individuals, they were suited to his purpose. In every instance where he has had any opportunity, Buonaparté has endeavoured to suppress discussion and freedom of sentiment. The new constitutions of Italy were framed almost entirely by himself, with as little of the popular leaven as possible; all the first legislators and public officers were of his own appointment, and before he left Milan he ordered all the popular societies to be closed. He constantly addressed the military as the guardians and preservers of the different consti-

tutions he had established. The treaty of peace was entirely his own framing, and he is said to have advised the Directory to diminish the force of the coalition by making separate treaties with the Allied Powers; he advised also, that moderate conditions should be granted to the Emperor in order to induce the other powers to treat, when they saw that, even when vanquished, he was not oppressed.

The ceremony of his presentation to the Directory, when he arrived from Italy, was attended with every degree of splendor and parade. They were about to receive a general, who, by his prowess and talents, had vanquished the most formidable armies ever sent into the field against France; and who had preserved the independence and extended the power of the country against a confederacy formed for the utter destruction of its glory.

The great court of the Luxembourg was the place chosen for this superb spectacle; it was covered with an immense awning, and the walls were decorated with hangings of the national colours and military trophies; at one end was an altar surmounted with statues of Liberty, Equality, and Peace, and ornamented with the different standards which had been taken from the enemy; on each side of the altar were seats in a semicircular form, composing a vast amphitheatre, and destined for the constituted authorities and the conservatory of music; from the walls were suspended the colours of the different armies of the Republic; an immense crowd lined the court and windows of the palace, and all the neighbouring streets were filled with those who could not gain admittance within; the air perpetually resounded with their acclamations and shouts of joy.

At twelve o'clock at noon the sound of cannon announced the commencement of the fête, and the procession, which consisted of the Directory, the ministers of state, and constituted authorities, began to move from their different places of meeting towards the Luxembourg; after they had arrived, and were all seated, the President of the Directory gave orders to inform the foreign ministers, the minister of war, and the generals Buonaparté, Joubert, and Andreossi, that the Directory were ready to receive them. The conservatory of music began a beautiful symphony, which was soon interrupted by the sound of repeated shouts, rending the air with "Long live the Republic!"—"Long live Buonaparté!"—"Long live the Great Nation!" The noise continued to increase, the crowd kept pressing forward, every eye sparkled with expectation and curiosity, and turned towards the great door: *Buonaparté entered!* the enthusiasm of the people increased, not a single person was silent, but all cried out, with one impulse and with one accord, "The Deliverer of Italy"—"The Pacificator of the Continent."

Buonaparté now advanced with calmness and dignity. It was the most sublime moment that a mortal could experience; the greatest trial to the feelings of a man; yet he shewed the same coolness he had done in the midst of battle. He was accompanied by the minister of foreign relations, the minister at war, and his aides-de-camp: the music played the Hymn to Liberty, and every one stood up uncovered. When he had arrived at the steps of the altar he was presented to the Directory by Talleyrand, in a speech suited to the occasion: after it was finished,

all seemed eager to hear the Conqueror of Italy, the simplicity and modesty of whose appearance formed a fine contrast to the grandeur of his situation, and every one present figured him at the Bridge of Lodi, at Arcola, or Campo Formio. A profound silence immediately took place while Buonaparté presented to the President of the Directory the Emperor's ratification of the treaty, and spoke as follows:—

“ Citizen Directors—The French People, in order to be free, had to combat with kings; to obtain a constitution founded upon reason, they had to vanquish the prejudices of eighteen centuries. The Constitution of the third year, and you, have triumphed over all obstacles. Religion, feudality, and royalty, have successively governed Europe; but, the peace which you have concluded dates the æra of representative governments. You have organized the Great Nation, whose vast territory is circumscribed only by the limits which nature herself hath placed. You have done more. The two most beautiful parts of Europe, formerly so celebrated for the arts, the sciences, and the great men which they produced, see, with renovated hope, the Genius of Liberty rise from the tombs of their ancestors. These are the two pedestals on which the destinies have placed other nations. I have the honour to present the treaty signed at Campo Formio, and ratified by his Imperial Majesty. Peace gives the earnest of liberty, prosperity and glory to the Republic. When the happiness of the French people shall rest on well formed organic laws, all Europe will become free.”

The Hero had scarcely finished, when shouts of

acclamation on all sides seemed to reach the clouds. "Long live the Republic!"—"Long live Buonaparté!" were the general cry. The President answered him in a very long speech, and afterwards gave him the fraternal embrace, in which he was followed by the other members of the Directory, and witnessed with great emotion by all present. Buonaparté descended from the altar, and the minister of foreign relations conducted him to an arm-chair which was prepared for him before the diplomatic body. The conservatory of music then performed the *Chant du Retour*, the words by Chénier, and the music by Mehul. The other generals were then presented, in turn, and received, and returned addresses suitable to the occasion; after which they took their different seats, prepared for them in front of Buonaparté, and the music played the *Chant du Depart*. The Directors then dissolved the sitting and returned to their palace with the rest of the procession. The spectators saluted Buonaparté with the same acclamations at his departure as at his entrance. A magnificent dinner was given at the Luxembourg to the General, and an immense number of civil and military officers; the evening concluded with a ball at the house of the Minister of the Interior, and thus ended this august ceremony.

Buonaparté at all times affected the character of a man of science and a lover of letters; there can be no stronger proof of it than his placing the title, Member of the National Institute, before that of General. At a literary dinner, given by François de Neufchâteau, he pretended to converse with every scientific man in his own line; with Lagrange and

La Place he talked of Mathematics; with Sieyes of Metaphysics; of Poetry with Chenier; of Politics with Gallois, and with Daunou of Legislation and Public Law. He affected in Italy to be the patron of letters, but it does not appear that they flourished much under his protection. The day after his nomination to be a member of the Institute in the class of mechanics, he addressed a letter to Camus, the president, in which are the same appearance of modesty, and the same respect for literature which he had formerly shewn.

“CITIZEN PRESIDENT,

The good opinion of the distinguished men who compose the National Institute does me the highest honour. I perceive, that, before I become their equal, I must be a long time their scholar. If I knew one method more expressive than another of testifying my esteem for them, I should employ it. The only true conquests, and those which leave no regret, are those which we gain over ignorance. The most honourable and the most useful of all employments is to extend the bounds of human knowledge. The true power of the French Republic ought, henceforth, to consist in appropriating to itself every great discovery.

(Signed)

“BUONAPARTE.”

The fêtes and dinners which were given to Buonaparté were, many of them, shared by his wife, particularly the balls; he constantly attended her to the latter, and shewed her every external mark of respect. The simplicity of his dress and manner seemed pointedly to indicate his real grandeur and superiority; for, where every one else was superbly dressed, in order to do him honour, he himself always appeared in a plain coat and without powder.

The ceremony of his installation at the National Institute was intended to be kept entirely private; yet, as the day was publicly known, the room was crowded as soon as it was opened; for wherever he could be seen he was never without a crowd. At five o'clock the members all took their places, Buonaparté, among the rest, in a plain grey frock, the dress he generally appeared in; there was nothing particular, therefore, to point out the man who had so lately conquered so many armies, overturned so many states, and created so many new ones. Neither his stature, his manners, nor his dress, distinguished him from the crowd; and yet, from the great éclat of his name, he attracted the notice of every one present: the moment he was discovered, the room rung with applauses, which were repeated whenever any allusion to him occurred in any of the speeches, or anything which could be applied to the Hero of France. It is worthy of remark, that Buonaparté was elected in the room of his friend Carnot, who had been lately banished.

In 1797, he appeared at the anniversary of the 21st of January, and there he seemed ashamed of his company; he was seated among the members of the National Institute as a private individual, and took so much pains to conceal himself, by hanging down his head, and drawing himself together, that he was not perceived till the ceremony was nearly concluded. He was then cheered with loud and repeated applauses.

The marks of public favour, which Buonaparté always received from the Parisians, must have been, in some degree, pleasing to his mind, and have inspired him with an additional confidence in any plans that

he might have formed against the Government. But, if he had indulged such views then, there is ground to think that he was not at ease, for his schemes were not sufficiently matured to be acted upon; and Carnot has declared, that the Directory dreaded and wished to destroy him;—of this Buonaparté was aware, and he secretly despised them as men and envied them as rulers. Paris was not, therefore, a place in which he could long remain in safety, if even his energetic mind could have concealed its disgust; besides, his policy required that he should appear at Paris in the character only of a private citizen. To conform to the level of the Merlins, the Frérons, and of the literary horde, and to feel himself no more than an equal of journalists, and pamphleteers, and lecturers—the sycophants of the Directory, the panders of the people, and the quacks of science—to reduce himself to such an equality, and, worst of all, to be in their power, was degrading and humiliating in the extreme, to him, who had over-ran Italy, at the head of the troops of the Republic, who, when with the army, was without a superior and without a rival.



CHAPTER XXV.

Farther Particulars regarding Buonaparté.—M. Sérizy's satirical Remarks on the Expedition to Egypt.—Anecdote of Buonaparté by Carnot.—On the common Fame of public Characters.—Anecdote of Buonaparté from Pel-tier.—Sir Robert Wilson's Statements of the Murder of the Turkish Prisoners at Jaffa and the poisoning of the Sick.—Dr. Wittman's Remarks on the same Circumstances.—Sir Robert Wilson's Justification of his Narrative, in Reply to the Complaint of the French Ambassador.—English Writers defend Buonaparté.—Remarks.

NOTWITHSTANDING the diffidence with which Buonaparté seemed to receive the honours that were lavished upon him at different times; and, although the literati had adopted him, and conferred upon him the distinctions which they had at their command, several men of letters ridiculed those *Savans* who accompanied him to Egypt. Amongst others, Richer Sérizy declaims, in *The Accusateur Publique*, in the following terms:

“What can we think of those pretended learned men, knowing hardly the alphabet of common sense; of those lamps of the Institute! who, thinking they were called upon to complete those high and mysterious destinies, forgetting the unhappy fate of Pharaoh's conjurors, set off, with empty purses, in company of the modern Jason, to search, first, for the golden fleece; then, to dazzle Asia with their talents; next, to build a fourth pyramid, in addition to the three extant, that their great deeds might be transmitted to posterity; and, lastly, to rebuild, most as-

furedly, in fifteen days, the twenty-two thousand cities of old Egypt; to reinstate the lake Meris, and again to set up the bull Apis!"

And, again, he says:

"If I wish to find out the utility of such an extravagant undertaking, I only see the chimerical project of spreading the revolution all over Asia. Who can be ignorant, that the climate, the fanaticism, the customs and manners, render the Eastern nations quite averse to our manners and customs; that it would require an infinite time, immense sums of money, the philosopher's stone, to give life again and to reunite the dust of the wonderful Memphis, scattered and dispersed so many centuries ago? What advantage can we reap from having Cairo and being deprived of forty thousand men in our armies? But, they say, that, in time, it will prove an excellent colony to us: Would it not, then, have been much better to have taken care of ours, so valuable, so fruitful, so populous, rather than to invade a country, which we cannot keep long, and instead of abandoning real comforts of life for illusive hopes? Who does not see, that the British Government has so well calculated upon the extravagance of such an enterprise, that it seems to have been their wish that our army should land, unmolested, on those distant and barren shores? Indeed, one would be apt to believe it, when it is well known, that Admiral Nelson was before Alexandria three days before the arrival of Buonaparté! and, in fact, Why has he not waited for him? how has he missed him at sea? The landing of our army in Egypt, did it not offer to the enemy the considerable advantage of removing the dangers which threatened England, of lessening our strength upon the continent,

and of engaging, at last, the Ottoman Porte (the dupe of her good faith, and too faithful to her engagements) to side with the Coalition against the destroyers of men?

“And what shall we think of the new-fashioned General, who, in order to succeed in his undertaking, acts the part of Alexander, takes folly for heroism, puts, gravely, a conjuror’s book in his pocket, provides himself with orvietan, with phosphorus, with inflammable air, with stuffed serpents, taken from the cabinet of natural history, in order to put them under Pompey’s pillar, imitating thereby the Serpent of Appollonius and Epidaurus; makes the Egyptians believe that he is a god, and persuades the Parisians that the terrible and memorable battle of Chebreisse is the battle of Abelles?”

Carnot in his Pamphlet, published nearly a month before Buonaparté’s departure for Egypt, complains of his *ingratitude* towards himself, to whom he owed much obligation for his elevation to the command of the army of Italy:

“I was so persuaded,” says he, “that it was impossible that Buonaparté had contributed to my proscription, that, when he passed, on his way to Rastadt, through a small town, where I was for a short time, I was on the point of sending him a note, in order to ask of him a momentary interview; and, if I did not do it, it was, because I feared that I might put him to some trouble; for I had never entertained the smallest doubt about his generosity. I then let him pass, and illuminated my windows, as did all the inhabitants, rejoicing, in the gayest humour, on the whimsical destinies of mankind. A few days afterwards I felt extremely happy in having acted as I did; when I

heard, that, at Geneva, Buonaparté had put under confinement a banker, called Bontems, only because he was suspected to have taken me from Paris to Geneva, after the 18th Fructidor, in order to rescue me from the pursuits of the Directory, who sent out whole battalions and artillery to find me, in the neighbourhood of Paris. The suspicion was unfounded; I had never seen Bontems in Paris, and it was not to him that I owed the obligation to have taken me out of the frontiers: the unhappy man remained, however, several months in prison! Such is the account I heard from many persons, who had seen him at Geneva, and who had heard him mention the fact; adding, that Buonaparté was excessively angry, and made him the most violent threats."

Carnot, elsewhere, expresses himself very indignantly at the behaviour of Buonaparté toward him.

He that is remarkable for having achieved any great actions will have many friends, from admiration, who will panegyrize him for virtues that he never possessed; and many enemies, from envy, who will sully his reputation by enumerating crimes that he never committed. The one will extol him as the *most* perfect, the other will execrate him as the *most* depraved character: the attributes which each will ascribe to him are superlative, and they will not be satisfied with any opinion that may be formed of him that does not either represent him as a demigod or a demon.—“All or nothing!” is their cry—not as he is, but as they wish him to be, is their picture; so, that, if the good qualifications of the individual be merely moderate, they will be magnified to perfection by his friends; and his vices and his follies, however venial, will be so exaggerated by his enemies, that, if he had the

most sincere disposition to repair his faults, "detraction will not let him" even acknowledge them, for fear of the evil appearance that malice would give to his first step towards reform. Unfortunately, these partialities are so well adapted to their object—the concealment of truth—that an honest inquirer is often deceived, and, as often as he discovers the error, is disgusted; whilst an acute inquirer has not always the means of detecting the fabrication, and is himself deluded into a belief of it. The motive, however, once ascertained, the mystery is unravelled.

These observations will apply particularly to Buonaparté: his publicity has occasioned curiosity; and, as the curious are always credulous, every tale that has been related of him has met at least with some believers. Nor have tales been wanting to gratify the fondness of his friends and the hatred of his enemies: stories have been so ingeniously manufactured that the discovery of some of them has destroyed the credibility even of facts, and induced a rejection of those ordinary circumstances of evidence with which the mind would have, otherwise, been contented. Fact and fiction, being, therefore, of so near a semblance, the opinions of honest and impartial men have been, in general, suspended upon those statements which are now submitted to the consideration of unprejudiced minds.

An act of very barbarous cruelty is attributed to Buonaparté, in a letter, to be found in M. Peltier's "Paris," vol. xi. p. 771. The Writer proceeds as follows:

"I say, and it is what twenty thousand men know, without daring to say it; I say, that, in no age, and under no tyrant, have crimes more enormous been committed than those which are daily committed un-

der the direction and authority of Buonaparté! Will it be credited, that, in the hospitals appropriated to the sick and wounded, the surgeons devoted to Buonaparté have a constant order, as soon as they see a sick soldier past recovery, or one whose incurable wounds will render him no longer of use to the service, to set a mark upon his bed, which fatal mark announces to the attendants, that this victim is to be carried away with the dead; he is, accordingly, thrown into a waggon, appointed to remove the dead bodies to the grave, and he is generally strangled or smothered: but, notwithstanding these precautions, as the carriages move along to the place of interment, the cries and groans of the unfortunate men, who are on the point of being buried alive, may be distinctly heard! To this horrible fact I have myself been a witness, as well as to what I am going to relate:

“In the month of July, 1797, after an action, which took place near Salo, on the Lac de Guarda, Buonaparté gave orders, that not only the dead, but the dying and wounded, should be buried! The wretched victims were placed upon five waggons, and, at midnight, were dragged to an enormous ditch, and precipitated in it. The cries of the living being distinctly heard, the monsters threw down eight loads of burning lime upon them, which falling upon the undressed wounds of the poor victims, made them send forth such piercing cries, that the virtuous curate of Salo, seized with horror at the transaction, died, in consequence of the fright!

“To these atrocities I have been an eye-witness, and I denounce them to all men and to all ages. If the Directory wish to be satisfied of the truth of my assertions, they have it in their power. I do not sign

my name to this letter, as I do not wish to be assassinated before the examination of the crimes I have denounced can take place. I call upon the Directory to verify the facts, and, when this is done, I will immediately present myself before them as a witness: in the meantime I shall discover myself to REWBELL."

Sir Robert Wilson, an English officer, in a Work published during the peace, relating to the operations of the French in Egypt, relates some circumstances of atrocity, which are introduced by the following remarks, in the preface of his book.

"To those who may imagine that my representations of General Buonaparte's conduct, in the several instances referred to, are imprudent and improper, at this moment, to be brought forward, I must premise; that, if they are concerned only for the character of that General, I am happy to afford them an occasion to be better acquainted with this celebrated man, who, by his great fortune and uninterrupted career of victory, (with one exception, of Acre) that glorious monument of British conduct!) has dazzled the understandings of the mass of mankind, and prevented the results of those inquiries having proper influence which those with whom the opinions of the day do not pass current, have instituted on his pretensions to the admiration of posterity.

"To those, whose motives of disapprobation proceed from a regard for tranquillity, exciting the wish that a general amnesty of oblivion might be extended to the past; first, I will say, that the dissemination of this principle would tend to produce more wickedness in the world than has ever been yet committed: for what is there to intimidate ambition, in full possession

of power, but the pen of the historian? What can guarantee mankind from the atrocities of a licentious despotism, but an assurance, that the memory of great crimes is perpetuated in the records of history?

“If the charges are not founded, the man yet lives to exonerate his injured character: if he cannot refute them, then must he sink into his grave loaded with the heavy weight of such offences, and the miserable prescience, that execration shall attach to his memory, instead of the fame he coveted; that, on his cenotaph posterity will inscribe:

- “*Ille venena Colchica et quidquid
Unquam concipitur nefas traxavit.*”

“General Hutchinson,” says Sir R. Wilson, “was very angry with the Turks for still continuing the practice of mangling and cutting off the heads of the prisoners; and the Captain Pacha, at his remonstrance, again issued very severe orders against it; but the Turks justified themselves for the massacre of the French by the massacre at Jaffa. As this act and the poisoning of the sick have never been credited, because of such enormities being so incredibly atrocious, a digression, to authenticate them, may not be deemed intrusively tedious; and, had not the influence of power interfered, the act of accusation would have been preferred in a more solemn manner, and the damning proofs produced, by penitent agents of these murders; but neither menaces nor promises can, altogether, stifle the cries of outraged humanity, and the day for retribution of justice is only delayed.

“Buonaparte having carried the town of Jaffa by assault, many of the garrison were put to the sword; but the greater part flying into the mosques, and im-

ploring mercy from their pursuers, were granted their lives; and, let it be well remembered, that an exasperated army, in the moment of revenge, when the laws of war justified the rage, yet heard the voice of pity, received its impression, and proudly refused to be any longer the executioners of an unresisting enemy. Soldiers of the Italian Army! this is a laurel wreath worthy of your fame, a trophy, of which the subsequent treason of an individual shall not deprive you.

“ Three days afterwards, Buonaparté who had expressed much resentment at the compassion manifested by his troops, and determined to relieve himself from the maintenance and care of three thousand eight hundred prisoners *, ordered them to be marched to a rising ground, near Jaffa, where a division of French infantry formed against them. When the Turks had

• “ Buonaparté had, in person, previously inspected the whole body, amounting to near 5,000 men, with the object of saving those who belonged to the towns he was preparing to attack. The age and noble physiognomy of a veteran Janizary attracted his observation; and he asked him, sharply, “ Old Man! what did you here?” The Janizary, undaunted, replied, “ I must answer that question by asking you the same: your answer will be, That you came to serve your sultan; so did I mine.” The intrepid frankness of the reply excited universal interest in his favour. Buonaparté even smiled! “ He is saved!” whispered some of the aids-de-camp. “ You know not Buonaparté,” observed one, who had served with him in Italy: “ that smile (I speak from experience) does not proceed from the sentiment of benevolence: remember what I say.” The opinion was too true. The Janizary was left in the ranks, doomed to death, and suffered!

entered into their fatal alignment, and the mournful preparations were completed, the signal-gun fired. Volleys of musketry and grape instantly played against them; and Buonaparté, who had been regarding the scene through a telescope, when he saw the smoke ascending, could not restrain his joy, but broke out into exclamations of approval; indeed, he had just reason to dread the refusal of his troops thus to dishonour themselves. Kleber had remonstrated in the most strenuous manner, and the officer of the *etat-major*, who commanded, (for the general to whom the division belonged was absent) even refused to execute the order without a written instruction; but Buonaparté was too cautious, and sent Berthier to enforce obedience.

“When the Turks had all fallen, the French troops humanely endeavoured to put a period to the sufferings of the wounded; but some time elapsed before the bayonet could finish what the fire had not destroyed, and, probably, many languished days in agony. Several French officers, by whom these details are partly furnished, declared, that this was a scene, the retrospect of which tormented their recollection, and that they could not reflect on it without horror, accustomed as they had been to fights of cruelty.

“These were the prisoners whom Assalini, in his very able *Work on the Plague*, alludes to, when he says, that for three days the Turks shewed no symptoms of that disease, and it was their putrifying remains which contributed to produce the pestilential malady, which he describes as afterwards making such ravages in the French army.

“The bones still lie in heaps, and are shewn to

every traveller who arrives; nor can they be confounded with those who perished in the assault, since this field of butchery lies a mile from the town.

“Such a fact should not, however, be alledged without some proof or leading circumstance, stronger than assertion, being produced to support it: but there would be a want of generosity in naming individuals, and branding them to the latest posterity with infamy, for obeying a command, when their submission became an act of necessity, since the whole army did not mutiny against the execution; therefore, to establish further the authenticity of the relation, this only can be mentioned, that it was Bon’s division which fired; and thus every one is afforded the opportunity of satisfying himself respecting the truth, by inquiring of officers serving in the different brigades composing this division.

“The next circumstance is of a nature which requires, indeed, the most particular details to establish; since the idea can scarce be entertained, that the commander of an army should order his own countrymen (or, if not immediately such, those amongst whom he had been naturalized) to be deprived of existence, when in a state which required the kindest consideration. But the annals of France record the frightful crimes of a Robespierre, a Carrier, and historical truth must now recite one equal to any which has blackened its page.

“Buonaparté, finding that his hospitals at Jaffa were crowded with sick, sent for a physician, whose name should be inscribed in letters of gold, but which, from important reasons, cannot be here inserted; on his arrival, he entered into a long conversation with him respecting the danger of contagion; concluding, at

last with the remark, that something must be done to remedy the evil, and that the destruction of the sick at present in the hospital was the only measure which could be adopted. The physician, alarmed at the proposal, bold in the confidence of virtue and the cause of humanity, remonstrated vehemently, representing the cruelty as well as the atrocity of such a murder; but, finding that Buonaparté persevered and menaced, he indignantly left the tent, with this memorable observation: ‘Neither my principles, nor the character of my profession, will allow me to become a murderer; and, General! if such qualities as you insinuate are necessary to form a great man, I thank my God that I do not possess them.

“Buonaparté was not to be diverted from his object by moral considerations; he persevered, and found an apothecary, who, (dreading the weight of power, but who since has made an atonement to his mind by unequivocally confessing the fact) consented to become his agent, and to administer poison to the sick. Opium, at night, was distributed, in gratifying food, the wretched unsuspecting victims banqueted, and in a few hours 580 soldiers, who had suffered so much for their country, perished thus miserably, by the order of its idol.

“Is there a Frenchman whose blood does not chill with horror at the recital of such a fact? Surely the names of these murdered unoffending people must be now hovering round the seat of Government: and

“If a doubt should still exist as to the veracity of this statement, let the members of the Institute at Cairo be asked what passed in their sitting after the return of Buonaparté from Syria; they will relate,

that the same virtuous Physician, who refused to become the destroyer of those committed to his protection, accused Buonaparté of high treason in the full assembly, against the honour of France, her children, and humanity; that he entered into the full details of the poisoning of the sick, and the massacre of the garrison, aggravating these crimes by charging Buonaparté with strangling, previously, at Rosetta, a number of French and Copts, who were ill of the plague; thus proving that this disposal of his sick was a premeditated plan, which he wished to introduce into general practice. In vain Buonaparté attempted to justify himself; the members sat petrified with terror, and almost doubted whether the scene passing before their eyes was not illusion.

“ Buonaparté pleaded, that he ordered the garrison to be destroyed, because he had not provisions to maintain them, or strength enough to guard them; and that it was evident, if they escaped, they would act against the French, since amongst the prisoners were 500 of the garrison of El Arisch, who had promised not to serve again (they had been compelled, in passing through Jiffa, by the commandant, to serve); and that he destroyed the sick to prevent contagion, and save themselves from falling into the hands of the Turks; but these arguments, however specious, were refuted directly, and Buonaparté was, at last, obliged to rest his defence on the positions of Machiavel. When he afterwards left Egypt, the Savans were so angry at being left behind, contrary to promise, that they elected the Physician president of the Institute; an act which spoke for itself fully.

“ Assuredly all these proceedings will not be found

in the minutes of the Institute; no, Buonaparté's policy foresaw the danger, and power produced the erasure; but let no man, calculating on the force of circumstances which may prevent such an avowal as is solicited, presume on this to deny the whole; there are records which remain, and which, in due season, will be produced. In the interim, this representation will be sufficient to stimulate enquiry; and, Frenchmen, your honour is indeed interested in the examination.

“ Let us hope also, that in no country will there be found another man of such Machiavelian principles, as by sophistry to palliate those transactions; nor must the judgment abuse itself by bringing to recollection the horrors of the French Revolution, and thus diminishing the force of those crimes by the frequency of equal guilt in France during her contest for *Liberty* or *Slavery*.”

In addition to the statement of Sir R. Wilson, Dr. Wittman, who was physician to the British military mission, which accompanied the army of the Grand Vizier, in a work printed subsequent to Sir R. Wilson's, says, that, “ Four thousand of the wretched inhabitants *who had surrendered, and who had in vain implored the mercy of their conquerors*, were, together with a part of the late Turkish garrison of El-Arisch, (amounting, it has been said, to five or six hundred,) dragged out, in cold blood, four days after the French had obtained possession of Jassa, to the Sand Hills, about a league distant, in the way to Gaza, *and there most inhumanly put to death. I have seen the skeletons of those unfortunate victims, which lie scattered over the hills—a modern Golgotha, which remains a lasting disgrace to a nation calling*

itself civilized. Indeed I am sorry to add, that the charge of *cruelty* against the French General Buonaparté, does not rest here. It having been reported, that, previously to the retreat of the French army from Syria, their commander in chief, Buonaparté, *had ordered all the sick at Jaffa* to be poisoned. I was led to make the inquiry, to which every one who had visited the spot would naturally be directed, respecting an act of such singular, and it should seem, wanton inhumanity. It concerns me to have to state, *not only that such a circumstance was positively asserted to have happened, but, that while in Egypt, an individual was pointed out to us as having been the executioner of these diabolical commands.*"

General Andreossi, the Ambassador of Buonaparté at the court of Great Britain, complained to Lord Hawkesbury of these statements. Sir Robert Wilson being informed of General Andreossi's complaint, wrote the following letters to the editors of the public papers—

"In the official correspondence lately published, there appear some remarks which the French Ambassador was instructed to make on my History of the British expedition to Egypt, and of which I feel called upon to take notice, not in personal controversy with General Andreossi, for, conscious of the superior virtue of my cause, I feel myself neither aggrieved nor irritated by the language he has used, but that the public may not attribute my silence to a desire of evading further discussion, and thus the shallow mode of contradiction adopted by the *Chief Consul* acquire an unmerited consideration.

"The Ambassador observes, 'That a colonel in the English army has published a work in England,

filled with the most atrocious and disgusting calumnies, against the French army and its General.— The lies it contains have been contradicted by the reception which *Colonel Sebastiani* experienced. The publicity of his Report was at once a refutation and reparation which the French army had a right to expect.’

“ But surely a new signification must have been attached in France to the word *calumny*, when such a term is applied to my account of the conduct of the French troops in Egypt, and the consequent disposition of the inhabitants towards them !

“ Independent, however, of the proofs to be adduced in corroboration of my statement, Europe may justly appreciate the probable truth of what I have written, when she recollects the unparalleled sufferings endured by the unoffending countries into which, during the last war, a French army penetrated ! and she will, at least, hesitate to believe, that, the *same* armies should voluntarily ameliorate their conduct in a country more remote, where the atrocities they might commit, would be less liable to publicity, and that this extraordinary change should be in favour of a people whose principles and resistance might have excited the resentment of more generous invaders !

“ I will not enter into any unnecessary detail of the numerous facts, which I could urge ; but I appeal to the honour of every British officer employed in Egypt, whether those observations are not sacredly true, which describe the French as being hateful to the inhabitants of that country, who represent them as having merited that hatred from the *ruin and devastation with which their progress through it has*

been marked ? and I am ready, if there be one who refuses to sanction this relation, to resign for ever every pretension to honourable reputation, and submit, without a further struggle, to that odium which would attach to calumny and a wilful perversion of truth.

“ But I feel confident, there is no individual who will not amply confirm all that I have written on the subject ; and perhaps Europe has a right to condemn me, for not having made the accusations still stronger, when I can produce frequent general orders of the French army, for the destruction of villages, and their inhabitants ; when I can prove, that, above forty thousand of the natives perished by the swords of the French soldiery ; and that every act of violence was committed, and particularly in Upper Egypt, which could outrage humanity, and disgrace civilized nations ! When writing a history of the campaign, was it possible not to express indignation against the authors of such calamities ? Would it have been natural not to have felt the animation of that virtuous pride, which reflection on the different conduct of the British soldiery must inspire in the heart of every Briton ? I have asserted that a British soldier could traverse alone through any part of Egypt, or even penetrate into the desert, secure from injury or insult. I have described the natives, as considering the British their benefactors and protectors, soliciting opportunities to manifest their gratitude, and esteeming their uniform as sacred as the turban of Mahometanism ; and I may venture to predict, that hereafter, the French traveller will be compelled to conceal the name of his nation, and owe his security to the assumption of a British character !

“ But does the effect of Colonel Sebastiani's Report justify the Chief Consul's conclusion, ‘ that it is a complete refutation of what I have advanced,’ even if we attach to that Report implicit belief in its candour and veracity? Is it possible that the Chief Consul can suppose the world will trace respect for the French name in the circumstance which occurred to Colonel Sebastiani at Cairo, and which rendered it necessary for him to demand protection from the Vizier *? or, would he imagine, that the apologue

“ * Mustapha Oukil, one of the chiefs of the city, passed before me on horseback ; in passing, he reproached my guides with marching before a Christian, and, above all, before a Frenchman ! and menaced them with the bastinado after my departure. I could not be silent under such an insult, and, upon my return, I sent Citizen Joubert to the Pacha, to make my complaint, and demand a prompt redress. I declared to him, ‘ That I expected this man would come publicly to me to ask my pardon, place himself at my disposal, and implore my pity !’ He found that Mustapha was greatly protected by the Pacha, and wanted to arrange it otherwise ; but I persisted, by declaring formally to the Pacha, “ That, if this reparation was not made in the manner in which I demanded it, I should instantly depart, and immediately write to Paris and Constantinople to state my complaints.’ This declaration produced all the effect which I expected, and Mustapha, alarmed, came, on the following day, to me, conducted by Rosetti, and he, publicly, asked my pardon, and put himself at my disposal. I told him, ‘ That my first intention had been to cut off his head, and that I only gave him his life at the solicitations of the Pacha and M. Rosetti ; but if, in future, he should ever insult the French, or those in their suite, his destruction would be inevitable.’ This affair, which was instantly spread throughout the whole city, produced the best effect.”

Sebastiani's Report.

of Dgezzar Pacha was not intelligible, even previous to the instructions being published, which M. Talleyrand transmitted to the French commercial agents?

“ That illustrious Senator, to whose virtues and stupendous talents England owes so much of her prosperity, has declared, that this Report of Colonel Sebastiani in no case contradicts my statement; and I should consider that high opinion as amply sufficient to remove any impression which the French Ambassador's Note might, otherwise, have made, did I not think it a duty to press some observations on that part of the paragraph which alludes to the direct accusation against General Buonaparté, that the public may know I was fully aware of the important responsibility which I had voluntarily undertaken, and in which much national honour was involved. I would wish the world seriously to examine, whether the accuser or accused has shrunk from the investigation, and then hold him as guilty who has withdrawn from the tribunal of inquiry.

“ I avowed that I was his public accuser: I stood prepared to support the charges. The courts of my country were open to that mode of trial, which, as an honest man, he could alone have required, but of which he did not dare to avail himself. It was no anonymous libeller against whom he was to have filed his answer, but against one (and without any indecent vanity I may say it) whose rank and character would have justified his most serious attention.

The charges were too awful to be treated with neglect, and we know that they have not been read with indifference. Nor is it possible that the First Consul can imagine the same of General Buonaparté is less

sullied, because a few snuff-boxes, bearing his portrait, were received by some timid or avaricious individuals with expressions of esteem: or, can he hope, that the contemptible, but not less unworthy, insinuation, directed against the gallant and estimable British General, will divert mankind from a reflection on the crimes with which he stands arraigned?

“Those crimes were so enormous, as, from their magnitude, to stagger belief; and, notwithstanding the irrefragable evidence of their commission, the mind still disposed itself rather to receive the impression of astonishment than conviction; but, at length, this sentiment is overpowered by the weight of guilt; and the name of Jaffa, echoed by the Turks to inspire feelings of indignation and revenge, is no longer heard in Europe without emotions of horror. Sebastiani himself recoiled at the recollection, and fled from this place of terror, preferring to increase the presumptive proofs against his Master rather than to visit a spot so polluted by his infamy, or hazard the effects of that resentment which a justifiable vengeance might have inflicted on the favourite.

“Fortunately for Europe, she has become more intimately acquainted with the principles of this hitherto misconceived man; and I confess that it gives me considerable gratification to indulge the thought, that I have contributed to their development.

“Success may, for inscrutable purposes, continue to attend him; abject senates may decree him a throne or the pantheon; but history shall render injured humanity justice.”

But if the reputation of Buonaparté was forcibly assailed by an English officer, there were English writers who eagerly defended him. It may be proper to

select the sentiments of one of them, as a specimen of the manner in which the Defence was conducted. The Annual Review for 1803, edited by ARTHUR AIKIN, observes thus :

“ In the late war, and in the present, the British ministry has been loudly accused of participating in and encouraging those plans of assassination which have been directed against the person of the Chief Magistrate (Buonaparté at that time was First Consul) of France. Let the ministry, if they can with truth, vindicate themselves from so black a charge, by a solemn and authentic disavowal ; and let the British Public show the high honour and intrepid courage for which they have long been renowned, by consigning to merited contempt and abhorrence all works, together with their authors, whose direct tendency is to degrade the generous and high-spirited Patriot into the lurking assassin.”

Respecting the Turks, who were thus slain, it should be candidly stated, that Buonaparté had, formerly, given them their liberty, *on condition* that they would not again serve against the French ; whilst, on the other hand, it should be recollected, that, if they had not obeyed the commands of the Pacha, by violating the terms of the capitulation, they would have been slaughtered for disobedience of orders by their own countrymen. It would, however, have been honourable to Buonaparté if he had considered this circumstance before he ordered such an immense number of men to be indiscriminately put to death.—Such actions as this stain the character of the soldier, and render the hero a destroyer. Purity of principle is obscured by the inflexible and unmitigated execution of sanguinary purposes, even though intended for ex-

ample.—The laws of Draco were not the more just because their penalties were bloody.

The assertion, that Buonaparté ordered poison to be administered in the hospitals to his own sick soldiers, seems destitute of that proof which is essential to its authenticity. Dr. Desgenette, the Physician General to the army, the person alluded to as having received these orders, and *refused* to execute them, in his *Histoire Medicale de l'Armée d'Orient*, p. 49, 50, expressly declares, “ That the General in Chief showed the utmost attention and tenderness to the soldiers afflicted with the plague, visited them in person whilst confined by that dreadful malady, and even assisted in the most menial offices for their relief.”



CHAPTER XXVI.

Disorganized State of France on the Arrival of Buonaparté from Egypt.—Joy of the Parisians on his Return.—Intrigues of the Directors Sieyes and Ducos against the other Directors.—Conferences between Sieyes and Buonaparte.—Secret Meetings of Buonaparté and his Adherents for projecting a new Revolution.—Grand Entertainment given by the Directory to Buonaparté and the other Generals.—EIGHTEENTH OF BRUMAIRE!—Esppcial Meeting of the Council of Ancients.—They Decree that the Legislature should adjourn to St. Cloud, and that Buonaparté should command the armed Force of Paris.—Buonaparté's Speech to the Council.—His Proclamation to the National Guard on the Decree passing.—His Proclamation addressed to the French Soldiery.—His General Orders, appointing the various Generals to new Commands.—Remarks on the issuing of the Proclamation.—The Proclamation of Fouché, the Minister of Police.—Of Canteleu, President of the central Administration.—Buonaparté puts an Army of Ten Thousand Men in Motion and surrounds the Thuilleries.—Sieyes and Ducos leave the Luxembourg and join the Revolutionists at the Thuilleries.—The Director Barras refuses to resign.—The Surprise and Conduct of the Directors Gobier and Moulins on being informed of the Revolution.—Barras sends in his Resignation.—Buonaparté's Message to him and Speech on that Occasion.—Meeting of the Council of Five Hundred.

INSURRECTION blazed in the Southern and Western departments of France, clubs of the Jacobins were formed in the Capital, and General Jour-

dan had proposed a decree, in the Council of Five Hundred, once more declaring "the country in danger;" when Buonaparté, unexpectedly, arrived at Paris.

The news flew round the city with the rapidity of lightning: the Parisians eagerly thronged to behold the "Conqueror of Egypt:" they surrounded him, and each seemed more desirous than the other of welcoming his return. His manners appeared more affable than they were before he quitted France: he spoke freely to the people, and shook several soldiers by the hand who had served with him in Italy. His complexion, bronzed by the Egyptian suns, and his hair, cut short and without powder, gave him an appearance of greater manliness and strength than were observable in him previous to his leaving Europe. He was out of uniform, and wore a grey riding-coat, with a silk scarf over his shoulder suspending a Turkish sabre. He passed along the courts and streets leading to the Luxembourg amidst the acclamations of the populace, and immediately had a private audience of the Directory.

Sieyes the Director had long foreseen the consequences which were likely to result from the imbecility of the Government, the energy of the factions, and the anarchy of the people; he saw, that, if means were not adopted to render the Executive Power sufficiently strong to be feared, that it would not be respected. He despised each of his colleagues, and only one of them had his confidence: this was Roger Ducos, who looked up to Sieyes as an oracle, and attached himself to him, because he had just foresight to perceive, that, if the Directory fell, Sieyes alone was capable of saving himself from the con-

tempt of the people : to Sieyes, then, Ducos had allied his own fortune, and he was completely the disciple of his brother Director.

Sieyes disclosed to Ducos his intention of calling in the aid of one of the generals, to save the Republic and themselves by overthrowing the Directory : he was secretly pleased at that joy of the people, on the arrival of their Favourite, which alarmed the other Directors ; he welcomed him to his apartments in the Luxembourg, disclosed to him his project, and required his aid in its execution. The wife of the Ex-priest, and the arts of the Ex-chief of the Army of Egypt, combined a plan, in which both engaged from individual ambition, without any regard to the interests or intention of the other : each so well concealed his own design that they duped one another ; and very little remained, but to strike the blow, and to take the full advantage of its success, which each supposed he should immediately possess himself of in his own way.

Various secret conferences were now held, at which the Director Sieyes, the Director Roger Ducos, Talleyrand, Fouché, Volney, Rœderer, Reinhard, and Buonaparté, with his brothers Lucien and Joseph, were present : few others of any consequence were entrusted with the conspiracy, but those who were, managed their confidence with great discretion. They created various rumours ; and, among others, a rumour, that a new plan of government was forming for the Republic. Thus a change was generally talked of amongst the people, without any one knowing from whence it was to proceed, or when it would be : the public mind was, however, prepared for a change, come whenever it might ; and all that seemed neces-

fary to make it to the taste of the Parisians was the destruction of the Directory. A few of the Council of Ancients and of the Council of Five Hundred were also in the secret.

Buonaparté appeared very little in public; he seemed to court seclusion from the gaze of the curiosity of the idle, and he declined the visits of those who had no real business to transact with him: everybody talked of him, but of those who talked very few knew anything about him. He was busied in attaching to himself men of talents and enterprise, whose interest was to be silent, that their plans might be secure in their operation.

Sieyes and Ducos acted their parts in a very natural way, and in a manner well calculated to lull their brother Directors in security: they prevailed on them to invite General Buonaparté and General Moreau to a public dinner. A grand entertainment was, accordingly, given, by the Directory and the Councils, to those generals and their friends, in the Temple of Victory (the church of St. Sulpice.) The company consisted of near eight hundred persons, including most of the great public functionaries of the Republic. The leading men of the different factions were assembled at this feast, which seemed intended for the purpose of softening their personal dislikes by making them social and acquainted with each other. The toast given by the President of the Directory was "Peace!" and that by Buonaparte, "A union of all parties:" nevertheless, it was evident, that this was a mere dinner of ceremony; the whole company viewed each other with distrust; there was neither mirth nor confidence: and, though the meeting pretended to effect a union of parties, it seemed only to put them

further asunder. Buonaparté quitted the room after a few toasts were given; and the whole ceremony did not last three hours.

The company separated, each in mutual distrust of the intentions of the other, and without having felt any desire of subduing their individual animosities, or of repressing their ambitious pretensions. The least inclined of any of the festive band to forego his designs was Buonaparté; for the very evening of the day on which he gave "A union of all parties" as a toast, he met his own party in secret, at the house of M. le Mercier, President of the Council of Ancients, to finally determine on those measures which it had been agreed should be adopted, and to assign to each individual the part that he was destined to act, in the conspiracy against the Directory.

The Committee of Inspectors belonging to the Council of Ancients, at five o'clock in the morning of the 18th Brumaire, (the 9th of November 1799,) sent messages to one hundred and fifty members of that body, who had been selected for that purpose by Buonaparté and his adherents, but of whom very few were acquainted with the conspiracy—they were required to meet at eight o'clock in the Thuilleries. When they met, it appeared that the most violent of the Jacobins, in number about an hundred, were not assembled—they had not been summoned, and were ignorant of the meeting.

Cornet, Reporter of the Committee, opened the meeting with a speech, in which he forcibly stated the dangers of the Republic, and the designs of the factious; and ended with proposing, that the Assembly, according to the 102d and 103d articles of the

Constitution, should adjourn to St. Cloud; that the General, Buonaparté, should be charged to put the Decree in execution; and that, for that purpose, he should be appointed commander of all the troops in Paris, as well as of the guard of the Assemblies, and the National Guard. This Decree was passed by a great majority.

“ This measure (said the Proclamation, that was immediately issued) has been adopted by the Council of Ancients in order to repress the factions which pretended to enslave the national representation, and in order to restore the internal peace.

“ This measure is to open a way for the external peace, which your long sacrifices and humanity demand. This constitutional measure has no other aim but the safety and the prosperity of us all. Such an object shall be accomplished.

“ And you, inhabitants of Paris, be easy; in a short time the Legislature will return to your city.

“ Frenchmen! the subsequent events will soon prove whether the Legislature may be entrusted with the honourable task of preparing your happiness.

“ Long live the People! by and with whom the Commonwealth exists.”

Buonaparté immediately appeared at the bar, attended by Generals Berthier, Moreau, Lefebvre, Macdonald, and others. Being informed by the President, of his appointment, he spake as follows:

“ CITIZEN REPRESENTATIVES !

“ The Republic was perishing—you knew this, and your decree has saved it. Woe be to those who wish for anarchy, whoever they be! aided by Generals Berthier, Lefebvre, and all my brave companions in arms, I shall arrest their course. Let us not seek in the past for exam-



General Lafayette

Engraved by M. G. W. P. 1820

ples to justify the present; for nothing in history resembles the conclusion of the 18th century, and nothing in that, resembles the present moment.

“Your wisdom has issued this Decree—our arms shall execute it. We demand a Republic founded on a just basis, on *true* liberty, on civil liberty and national representation, and we will have it. We will have it—I swear it—I swear it in my own name, and in the names of my brave comrades.”

Lively applauses proceeded from the tribunes, the President called them to order, the Council became tranquil.—The President said:

“GENERAL!

“The Council of Ancients receives your oath; there is no doubt of your sincerity, and of your zeal to act. He who never promised victories to the country in vain, cannot fail to fulfil his new engagements to serve her with fidelity.”

Garat requested to be heard; but the President observed, that after the Decree which the Council had passed, there could be no discussion, either in Paris or elsewhere, before the next day at noon; and the sitting was dissolved, amid loud cries of “Long live the Republic!” “Long live the Constitution of the Third Year!”

Buonaparté immediately issued a Proclamation to the National Guard.

PROCLAMATION.

BONAPARTE, *Commander in Chief, to the Citizens composing the National Guard of Paris; the 18th Brumaire, 8th Year of the French Republic, one and indivisible.*

“CITIZENS!

“The Council of Ancients depository of the national wisdom, has just enacted the Decree undermentioned,

agreeable to the 102d and 103d articles of the Constitution.

"I am intrusted with the choice of measures relative to the safety of the national representation. Its removal from Paris is necessary, and only temporary. The Legislature will thereby be able to rescue the representation from the imminent danger into which the general disorder in the administration is on the eve of plunging us all.

"In this important crisis the union and confidence of the patriots are highly necessary. Stand, then, by the Legislature; it is the only way to establish the Republic on the basis of civil liberty, internal happiness, victory, and peace.

"Long live the Republic!

(Signed)

"BONAPARTE."

"ALEX. BERTHIER."

He also issued to the troops of the line the following

PROCLAMATION.

BONAPARTE, *Commander in Chief, to the Soldiers.*
Head Quarters at Paris, the 18th of Brumaire, 8th Year
of the French Republic, one and indivisible.

"SOLDIERS!

"The extraordinary Decree of the Council of Elders is authorized by the 102d and 103d articles of the Constitution. I am entrusted with the command of the city and of the army:

"I have accepted it, in order to support the measures of the Legislature, all of which are in favour of the people.

"The Republic, for the two last years, has been ill governed. You have hoped that my return would put an end to so many evils; you have rejoiced at it with a cordiality which lays on me the duties I fulfil: you will fulfil yours, and support your General with that energy, that steadiness, and that confidence, which I have always seen in you.

"Liberty, victory, and peace, will again restore the French Republic to the rank which she held in Europe, and which she could only lose through ignorance or treachery.—Long live the Republic !

(Signed)

"BONAPARTE."

"ALEX. BERTHIER."

Beside these Proclamations, Buonaparté gave the following :

GENERAL ORDERS.

"Paris, the 18th of Brumaire, 8th Year of the French Republic, one and indivisible."

"According to the decree of the Council of Elders, dated this day, which confers on General Bonaparté the command of the 17th military division of the guards of the Legislature, of those of the Executive Directory, of the troops of the line actually in Paris, in the constitutional circle, (twelve leagues around Paris) and in the whole extent of the 17th division—

"General Bonaparté appoints the General of Division, Lefebvre, to be his first lieutenant, and the General of Brigade, Andreossi, Chief of the General Staff, having under his orders the General-Adjutants Caffarelli and Doucet.

"The General of Division, Murat, commands all the cavalry.

"The General of Division, Lannes, commands in the National Palace of Elders ; the Chief of his Staff will be the Chief of Brigade, Milhaud.

"The General of Brigade, Marmont, commands the artillery.

"The General of Division, Berruyer, holds still the command of the invalids.

"The General of Brigade, Morand, holds still the command of Paris."

(Signed)

"BONAPARTE.

"The General of Division,
ALEX BERTHIER."

These Proclamations and Orders, issued on the morning of the 18th Brumaire, had been prepared some time before the circumstances occurred which gave rise to the necessity of their being promulgated. — They had lain in the bureaux of the new revolutionists until the day when they were either to be useful or useless; when, if the proposed revolution was effected, they were to be circulated amongst the troops, and to be read by all the Parisians; and, when, if it had not succeeded, they would have been committed to the flames. The Proclamations were for the events, and the events for the Proclamations; and hardly had the events happened before the walls of Paris were placarded with the Proclamations, and the good citizens were indulging their curiosity on the tendency of the measures which had been so unexpectedly adopted.

The minister of General Police, Fouche, also issued the following

PROCLAMATION.

GENERAL POLICE.—*The 18th Brumaire, 8th Year of the French Republic, one and indivisible. The Minister of the General Police of the Republic to his fellow-citizens.*

“CITIZENS!

“The Republic was threatened with an imminent destruction.

“The Legislature has just supported liberty on the very brink of ruin, to render it immortal.

“The events have been prepared for our happiness, and for that of posterity.

“Let all the Republicans be easy, since their wishes are to be accomplished; let them be deaf to the perfidious insinuations of those who only look after troubles in the political events, and after the perpetuity of commotions and vengeance in the troubles.

“ Let the weak persons cheer up again ; they are supported by power. Let every one mind his own business and domestic concerns, in perfect security.

“ Let them only be afraid and cautious who are spreading alarms, misleading the people, and preparing the disorders. All the repressive measures are taken and in readiness ; the instigators of troubles, the abettors of royalty, all those who would dare to make an attempt against public or private safety, shall be seized and punished.

(Signed) “ The Minister of Police,
FOUCHE.”

The Central Administration of Paris likewise issued a Proclamation ; which, after recounting the disorders of the country, and that peace alone would put an end to them, concludes thus :

“ General Bonaparté, on whom every soldier and every citizen may justly rely, is intrusted with the care of your safety and with that of the Legislature in this awful crisis ; and you will see him with pleasure acquire a new glory, by contributing among you to the welfare of the people.”

This Proclamation was signed by the celebrated Banker Leconteulx-Canteleu, President, and by Réal the Commissary.

On the instant that the Decree of the Council of Ancients had passed, Buonaparté marched 10,000 troops to the Thuilleries, and guarded every avenue to the place so effectually, that no one was permitted to pass either into the courts, the garden, or within the walls of the castle. He had previously formed all his dispositions, and he harangued his troops in the great court, while three of the Directors, and all the rest of Paris, were completely ignorant of what was going forward, until the publication of his Proclamations.—The Directors, Sieyes and Roger Du-

cos, the latter of whom was entirely governed by the former, being both in the secret, waited in silence the result of the meeting. Sieyes was walking in the garden of the Luxembourg, and Ducos was in his own apartments, when they were informed of what had passed: they ordered their horses, galloped immediately to the Thuilleries, and joined the two committees of inspection, the generals, and the rest of the military, who were in deliberation upon the measures to be taken for putting the decree of the Council of Ancients in execution.

The Director Barras, had been required to give in his resignation very early in the morning, and the lady, through whom the request came, was empowered to offer him any pecuniary assistance he might require: he at first appeared to be violently irritated, but in a little time he became more calm, and acknowledged that the government required some vigorous individual at its head, for it was impossible it could go on with five people, who had no confidence in each other; but still he refused to send in his resignation.

Gohier, who was that morning to have-breakfasted with Buonaparté, was extremely surprised, soon after he got up, to find what had passed, but, particularly, at the decree for transferring the Assemblies to St. Cloud: he went, however, into the audience chamber of the Directory, and sent for his colleagues. Moulins, who was equally surprised, came to him immediately; but they were both still more so when they heard that Sieyes was gone to the Thuilleries; they then sent for Ducos, and found he was there also: Barras was summoned next, and he refused to come. Gohier sent immediately for La Garde, the Secretary General, and

ordered him to register a decree, which he dictated to him; but La Garde answered, "That as two members could not make a majority of the Directory, it was impossible for him to do as he requested." Moulins became extremely agitated, and proposed immediately to send a guard to invest the house of Buonaparté, and keep him a prisoner; but he was told, that it would be impossible, for every soldier then in Paris was under Buonaparté's command. General Le-febvre was requested to attend them: but he confirmed what they had before heard, and said, "That as he was under the orders of Buonaparté, he could not march a single man without his permission." They then despaired of retaining their power; and in a few minutes the Luxembourg was invested with a strong guard, sent there by Buonaparté.

By the Constitution it was requisite that the act for transferring the Assemblies to St. Cloud should be signed by a majority of the Directory; and Gohier, impelled by that curiosity and indecision that characterizes weakness, went to the Thuilleries and added his name to those of Sieyes and Ducos. Unwilling to part with his dignity, he repented of what he had done; and when the great seal of state, which was in his possession, as President, was demanded of him, he refused to give it up. As soon as he returned to the Luxembourg a strong guard was immediately appointed over him, and he remained a prisoner in the Directorial Palace.

Moulins was so overpowered by fear that he jumped out of a window which looked into the garden, and hid himself among the bushes till he could get quietly away: he was thought of so little consequence that no one attempted to look after him.

At noon Barras sent his resignation to Buonaparté, by his secretary, Botot. The Ex-director remained in a carriage near the Thuilleries till Botot returned with the result of his message. Buonaparté was in the apartment of the Inspectors when Botot desired to speak with him: he was introduced by Courtois, and having given the paper to the General, he inquired, in a low voice, what Barras had to expect from him. "Tell that man," said Buonaparté, "that I desire to hear no more of him, and that I will cause the authority I am intrusted with to be respected." Then, raising his voice loud enough to be heard even by those who were in the antichamber, he continued to address the astonished Secretary: "What have you done," said Buonaparté, "with the country which I left you so flourishing? I left you at peace, and I have found you at war: I left you victory, and I have found defeat: I left you conquest, and the enemy are passing our frontiers: I left you the treasures of Italy, and I find nothing but oppression and poverty. Where are the hundred thousand heroes, my companions in arms, whom I left covered with glory? what is become of them? alas! they are no more! This state of things cannot last long, in three years it will end in despotism: *but we are for a Republic, founded on the basis of equality, civil liberty, and political toleration.* If you believe the assertions of the factious, we are the enemies of the Republic; we, who have strengthened it by our labours and cemented it by our blood! but we wish for no better patriots than the brave men who have suffered in its service."

This harangue was highly applauded; and Botot retired in confusion, to acquaint Barras with what had passed. Barras obtained leave to retire to his superb

estate of *Gros Bois*, and a party of horse attended him, as a guard of safety.

During this time the Council of Five Hundred had assembled, filled with distrust and fear, not knowing upon which of their colleagues they were to rely, and dreading the treachery of some whom they had no ground even to suspect. These alarms had been occasioned by the decree of the Council of Ancients and the extraordinary events of the morning: not knowing the causes from which those occurrences had originated, they were fluctuating between the conjecture and expectation which vague and contradictory rumours had excited, when the President, Lucien Buonaparté, entered the hall: eagerness was depicted in most of their countenances whilst he seated himself. From him they expected an authentic account of the proceedings of the morning and the objects to which they were directed. Lucien Buonaparté had been chosen their President some days before; and it was only known to a very few of the members, who had assisted in procuring his appointment, that it was a measure effected by the management and intrigue of the new party to assist their designs upon the Government.

To Lucien, then, the brother of General Buonaparté, every eye was turned—The *procès verbal* was read, and all were eager to speak. The President arose, and read the Decree from the Council of Ancients, which removed the Legislative Body to the palace of St. Cloud. A violent clamour instantly arose: the President declared the sitting dissolved, amidst a strong opposition: and he immediately quitted the hall, with several of the members, who were attached to the new order of affairs.

The time which was not occupied by these events, and the whole remainder of the day and night, was employed by Buonaparté, and the other generals and public men, with Sieyes at their head, in preparing and arranging the business of the next day. The Directory now no longer existed: Barras was exiled to his country seat under a guard of dragoons; Gohier and Moulins had been put in confinement at the Luxembourg; and the other two Directors, Sieyes and Ducos, were accelerating the new changes. Every public street and square in Paris was paraded by different parties of soldiery.



CHAPTER XXVII.

NINETEENTH OF BRUMAIRE.—*Sittings of the Legislative Body at St. Cloud.—The Jacobins carry several Motions in the Council of Five Hundred.—Barras formally sends in his Resignation.—Buonaparté's Speech in the Council of Ancients.—He repairs to the Council of Five Hundred; on entering their Hall narrowly escapes Assassination by being rescued.—The Military assure him of their Fidelity.—Danger of the President, Lucien Buonaparté, in advocating his Brother.—He is also rescued, and acquaints the Council of Ancients with the Proceedings in the Council of Five Hundred.—Speech of Lucien Buonaparté to the Soldiery.—Buonaparté orders the Members of the Council of Five Hundred to be expelled from their Hall.—The Soldiery drive them through the Doors and Windows.—Decree of the Council of Ancients thereon.—A select Number of the Council of Five Hundred meet, under the Protection of the Military.—They decree Buonaparté to have deserved well of the Country.—Decree of Urgency, creating a new Government, and appointing Sieyes, Ducos, and Buonaparté, Consuls.—Address of the Legislative Body to the French People.—Proclamation of Buonaparté to the People.—Speech of Lucien Buonaparté on the Consuls taking the Oaths.—The Consuls arrive at Paris from St. Cloud.—Address of the Consuls to the French People.—Completion of the new Revolution.*

THE 19th of Brumaire (10th of November) was big with important events. The castle of St. Cloud was surrounded by troops in the morning before day-

light. In conformity to the decree of the Council of Ancients, that body and the Council of Five Hundred were to hold their sittings there at noon: by that time the members had repaired there in great numbers. Every avenue being strictly guarded, the Deputies could not pass without shewing their medal: only a few other individuals, who had tickets, were permitted to enter with them. The Picture Gallery was appointed for the Council of Ancients and the Orangerie for the Council of Five Hundred: but the sittings, which had been appointed for twelve, did not take place till two o'clock, owing to the preparations of the workmen not being finished.

The debates were opened in the Council of Five Hundred by a speech from Gaudin, proposing a committee of seven members, to take into consideration the best means of providing for the public safety. It was expected that this motion would have been immediately carried; but scarcely had it been suggested, when several members of the Jacobin party darted forward into the tribune, all eager to be heard. The cry of "Down with dictators!" became general: others exclaimed, "The Constitution or death! we are not afraid of bayonets, we will die at our post!" and some proposed that every member should take a fresh oath to preserve the Constitution. The members of the other party were so much thrown off their guard, that the cry of "Long live the Constitution!" became general, and the motion for taking the oath was agreed to. This was a great victory for the Jacobins, it gave them time, which was all they wanted. The ceremony of renewing the oath took up two hours: and when this was over, various propositions were offered and discussed amidst great confusion.

At length some motions were proposed and adopted, totally opposite to the intentions of those who had procured the adjournment of the meeting to St. Cloud.

A letter was now brought in, addressed to the Council: it was opened by the President, who announced that it came from Barras. On being read, it imported his resignation, but was couched in such guarded and ambiguous terms as seemed to intimate a desire to be employed in the new Government; and the letter gave rise to a violent debate, on the question, Whether the assembly should proceed to the election of a new Director? Much of the confusion arose from the members who were well disposed towards a change of government, but who had come to the Assembly totally ignorant of what was intended by Buonaparté. They had been easily induced to listen to the extravagant reports which were circulated by the Jacobins, who produced all the confusion which had arisen.

The danger became imminent, and the prevention of a civil war required that some vigorous measures should be taken to complete the revolution. Buonaparté being informed of the tumultuous discussions became violently agitated. He hastened to the Council of Ancients, and, having left his arms in an antichamber, entered the Assembly, and requested permission to address the sitting. Leave was given, and he instantly delivered the following harangue with great animation.

“ Representatives of the People !

“ You are placed in no common circumstances; you are on the mouth of a volcano, which is ready to devour you. Permit me to speak to you with the frankness of a sol-

dier and the candour of a citizen, zealous for the welfare of his country; and suspend, I beseech you, your judgments, until I have finished what I have to say.

“ I was living peaceably at Paris when I received your Decree, which informed me of your dangers, and I hastened to come to your assistance, with my brother soldiers. Is not the blood which we have shed in battle a sufficient proof of our devoted attachment to the Republic, of our pure and disinterested motives? Have they who dare to lift their voices against us given similar pledges? as a reward for our services, they load us with calumnies, and talk of a modern Cæsar, a second Cromwell. They speak of a military government and a conspiracy. Alas! the most dangerous of all conspiracies is that which surrounds us every where, that of the public misery which continues to increase.

“ It would be sacrilegious to attempt the destruction of a representative government in the age of knowledge and liberty. No one, but a madman, would attempt to ruin the success of a republic over all the royalty of Europe, after having supported it with so much glory and peril as I have done. Have not ignorance, folly, and treason reigned long enough in our country? have they not committed sufficient ravages? what class has not, in turn, suffered by them? Have not Frenchmen been long enough divided into parties, eager and desirous to oppress each other? The time is at length arrived to put an end to these disasters. You have charged me to present you with the means, and I will not deceive your expectations.

“ If I had had any personal or ambitious objects in view; if I had wished to crush the liberty of my country; if I had wished to usurp the supreme authority, I should not have obeyed the orders you gave me; I should have had no occasion for the mandate of the Senate.—More than once, in extremely favourable circumstances, have I been called to take the reins of government. After our tri-

umphs in Italy, I was invited to it by the desire of the nation, by the request of my comrades, and by that of the soldiers, who have been oppressed in my absence; of the soldiers who are still obliged to carry on a most horrible war in the departments, which wisdom and order had calmed, and which folly and treason have rekindled.

“The country has not a more zealous defender than myself; I am entirely devoted to the execution of your orders; but it is on you alone that its safety depends—for the Directory is no more. Four of the magistrates who composed it have given in their resignations; dangers press hard; the evil augments; the Minister of Police has just informed me, that in La Vendee several places are already fallen into the hands of the Chouans. The Council of Ancients is invested with great power; but, it is also animated by still greater wisdom; consult that alone, consider the near approach of dangers, and prevent anarchy. Let us endeavour to preserve the two objects for which we have made so many sacrifices—Liberty and Equality. Liberty alone is dear to me, and I never wish to serve any faction or party whatever. I wish to serve the French people alone. Let us not then be divided. Unite your wisdom and your firmness to the force which surrounds me, and I will devote myself to the safety of the Republic.”

“And of the Constitution!” exclaimed Moreau de l’Yonne.

“The Constitution!” replied Bonaparté with indignant warmth. “Does it become you to name it? what is it but a heap of ruins? Has it not been successively the sport of every party? Have you not trampled upon it on the 18th Fructidor, the 28th Floreal, and 28th Prairial?—The Constitution! Has not every kind of tyranny been exercised in its name since the day of its establishment? Who has been, or who can be, safe under it? Is not its insufficiency manifested by the numerous crimes which have

been committed in its name, even by those who are swearing to it a contemptuous fidelity? All the rights of the people have been indignantly violated.

"To re-establish those rights on a firm foundation, we must labour to consolidate the Republic and liberty of France.

"As soon as these objects be attained, and the dangers of the country shall have subsided, I will abdicate the command which has been committed to me, and will become the supporting arm of the magistracy, whom you may think proper to nominate."

Cornudet here eagerly confirmed the assertions of Buonaparté, "and" said he, "I am acquainted with some *criminal opinions* that are entertained of the General, which can only be developed and discussed in the absence of strangers."

The spectators were ordered to withdraw, and as soon as the Hall was cleared Buonaparté continued:

"Criminal opinions! I could reveal to you circumstances which would instantly confound my calumniators. But it is enough to tell you, that even two of your late magistrates—the Directors Barras and Moulins, themselves, advised me to overturn the Government, and put myself at the head of affairs. I repulsed these overtures, because liberty is dearer to me than life. Several factions have tendered me their services, but I have rejected all their overtures as unworthy the ear of a Republican.

"I speak with the frankness of a soldier. I am a stranger to the art of eloquence; I have always followed the God of War, and Fortune and the God of War are with me. Be not afraid, Representatives of the People! of criminal plots; I, and my brave comrades shall ever be ready to defend you, and the Republic.—(*Glancing his eyes towards the soldiers, who were on duty within the Hall,*) "I appeal fellow soldiers," said he, "to you—You, before whom the Jacobins desire to make me appear the enemy of liberty—You, grenadiers, whose caps I see; you,

soldiers, whose bayonets I have so often directed to the shame and confusion of our enemies, and to the lasting disgrace ; and which you have so often employed in the foundation of several republics—I entreat you to turn those dreadful bayonets against my own breast, if ever you behold me abandon the cause of liberty.

“ Representatives of the People ! I conjure you to adopt the most prompt and energetic measures to save the country.”—Buonaparté now retired.

The Council of Five Hundred were engaged in violent discussion, when Buonaparté suddenly entered the Hall, unarmed, and accompanied by a few grenadiers also without arms, and who waited within the door.—He advanced towards the top of the Hall, and the Council was instantly in motion : “ A General here ! ” cried they, “ what does Buonaparté want with us ? This is not your place. Some of the members flew to the tribunes, others hastened towards Buonaparté, vehemently exclaiming, “ No dictators ! Down with the Tyrant ! Down with him ! Kill him, kill him ! ” He was pushed back and struck at. Several of the Council drew poniards and pistols ; and Arena, a native of Corsica, and one of the Deputies, aimed a blow at him with a dagger. Thome, a grenadier, parried it with his arm, and was wounded.—By another blow Buonaparté was wounded in the cheek.

The President, Lucien Buonaparté, with great difficulty obtained leave to speak : “ The General,” said he, “ has, undoubtedly, no other intention than to acquaint the Council with the present situation of affairs.”—Loud clamours and threats prevented his being heard any further ; and the General was so overpowered by the number of those who rushed forward to attack him, that he was on the point of falling, when General Lefebvre rushed into the Hall with a body of armed grenadiers, who surrounded him and carried him out. As soon as the soldiers had left the Hall, the members instantly decreed, that the Council of Ancients had no power to invest Buonaparté with the

command, as that authority could be conferred by the Directory alone. The President, Lucien, animadverted with great energy on the disorders of the day, and on the ferocious insults which some of the members had offered towards an illustrious general, who had rendered the most signal and permanent services to the Republic.—Several members cried out, “Outlaw him! he has disgraced his military character, and he deserves death from the hand of every patriot:” others said, “The *President* is in the conspiracy, or he would have proclaimed the General outlawed.”—The Assembly had become a mob, and the President was attacked on all sides.—His authority being no longer submitted to, and his life even endangered; he darted from the chair—indignantly stripped himself of the insignia of his office, and made his way to the tribune; when he had mounted it, he attempted to make himself be heard—his voice was drowned in loud cries against himself and his brother.—He violently exerted himself, but to no effect; and tears of agony and indignation started from his eyes. His destruction seemed almost inevitable.

When the soldiers, by whom General Buonaparté was rescued, had escorted him to the outside of the Hall, in a few instants recovered from the fatigue of his late danger.—He hastened to the court of the castle, where the troops were drawn up, and instantly addressed them; “Soldiers” said he, “Everybody thought that the Council of Five Hundred would save the country, but, instead of that, I have seen only a furious and outrageous mob, ready to destroy me. I have some enemies; Comrades, may I rely on you.”—“Yes, yes,” shouted they, “Long live Buonaparté!”—He selected some grenadiers, who threw open the doors of the Hall, just as Lucien had feared that he should fall by the stilettos of the Deputies. He was carried off amidst their vociferations, and he immediately proceeded to the Council of Ancients, to whom he related the recent danger of his brother and himself, in the Council of Five Hundred.—Lucien was interrupted

in his speech, by Regnier observing the irregularity of letting a member of the Council of Five Hundred speak in the Council of Elders. This objection, however was overlooked, and Lucien Buonaparté afterwards went to his brother, who was inspiring the troops to the accomplishment of his object: after a moment's conference with the General, Lucien mounted a horse, in order to be better seen and heard, and addressed the soldiers to the following effect:

“CITIZENS!—As President of the Council of Five Hundred I declare to you, that the immense majority of the Council is now subdued by the terror of some representatives, armed with poniards, and threatening with death those who would refuse to comply with their destructive measures. I declare to you, that those audacious assassins, no doubt paid by England, are in a state of rebellion against the Council of Ancients, and have threatened with an outlawry the very General intrusted with the wise measures of that Council; as if we were still in the dreadful times of their reign, when the word *outlawed*! was sufficient to cut off the most illustrious heads of the country. I declare to you, that those few assassins are themselves outlawed for having attacked the liberty of that Council. In the name of the people, who, since so many years, are the victims of those wretched children of terror, I entrust to the brave soldiers the honourable task of rescuing the majority of the Representatives; in order, that, after being protected by the bayonets against the poniards, they may be able to deliberate for the welfare of the Republic.

“General! Soldiers! and Citizens! you will only acknowledge for French legislators those who follow me out of that seditious assembly; those who remain in the Orangerie must be driven from thence by force. Those assassins are not representatives of the people, but *representatives of the poniard*: such shall be their title wherever they may go; and, whenever they will dare to show themselves to the people, let them be pointed at under the deserved appellation of “Representatives of the poniard.”

Lucien Buonaparté concluded his speech by crying out, "Long live the Republic!" and the soldiers shouted, "Long live the Republic! Long live Buonaparté!"

General Serrurier made the following short and energetic speech to the soldiers :

"SOLDIERS!—The Council of Elders approves General Buonaparté, whom the Council of Five Hundred has attempted to assassinate. Villains! we will overcome them, and peace shall be restored."

The troops were then ordered to enter the hall of the Council of Five Hundred. The commanding officer exclaimed : "General Buonaparté commands us to clear the hall." The grenadiers advanced and filled the first half of the hall, the other half was occupied by the Deputies who did not retire, and who had crowded round the President's chair. A member, called Talot, said to the soldiers : "What are you soldiers? You are the guardians of the national representation—and you dare to menace its safety and independence! Is it thus you tarnish the laurels you have gained in battle?" Many of the members addressed the soldiers, conjuring them in the name of Liberty not to follow their leaders. The drums now beat and the voices of the members could not be heard. The grenadiers then brought their muskets to the charge, and a dreadful scene of alarm and dismay was exhibited by the tardy Deputies : in their haste to escape from the bayonets of the soldiers they choaked up the windows and doors and tumbled over one another. The chamber was soon cleared of them, amidst the cries, by the soldiers, of "Long live the Republic! Long live Buonaparté!" and they were received on the outside by the hootings and hisses of the people.

The Council of Ancients was acquainted with the occurrences in the hall of the Council of Five Hundred, and at six o'clock they issued a decree, to the following purport :

"Considering the *retreat* of the Council of Five Hundred, and that of four Directors, the fifth (Gohier) being confined, a temporary executive commission, of three members, shall be appointed.

“ The Legislature is adjourned to the 1st of Nivose next, (December 22) when it will meet again in Paris, without farther convocation.

“ During the recess there will be an intermedial commission of the Council of Ancients, the only existing one, in order to protect the rights of the national representation.

“ The intermedial commission is authorized to convoke the Legislature previous to that time, if it deems that convenient.

“ The sitting is adjourned till nine o'clock in the evening, when the Council shall proceed to the execution of the above-mentioned measures.”

About nine o'clock those members of the Council of Five Hundred who had followed Lucien Buonaparté, their President, were again assembled in the Orangerie, under the protection of the troops. Lucien once more took the chair in safety, and sent a message to the Council to inform them of their having met : he then moved the following Resolutions, which were immediately passed :

“ The Council of Five Hundred declares, That General Buonaparté, and the other generals and officers commanding the troops, as likewise the soldiers employed at St. Cloud, having saved the majority of the Legislature and the Republic, attacked by a factious minority, composed of assassins, have deserved well of their country.

“ The Council declares, That the two brave grenadiers, Thomas Thome and I. B. Poiret, who have defended General Buonaparté against the poniards of the assassins, have also deserved well of the country.”

Chazal proposed that a committee of five members should be appointed to consider the propriety of forming a new government : after this was adopted Lucien Buonaparté quitted the President's chair, mounted the tribune, and pronounced an animated harangue on the disasters of the Republic, arising from the misconduct of the late government, and the necessity of appointing a new one. His speech was received with the loudest applause and repeated cries of

"Long live the Republic!" Boulay de la Meurthe soon after returned with the report of the secret committee, containing the project of a decree for appointing a new government: he prefaced his motion by a long speech, in which he enlarged on the profligacy and incapacity of the Directory, as well as on the defects of the Constitution itself, and the necessity of a strong executive power, to give solidity to the state, and prevent the return of anarchy.

The Council then passed the following decree, in sixteen articles.

1st. "There is no longer an Executive Directory, and the following persons are no longer members of the national representation, on account of the excesses and the violent attempts which they have uniformly made, and particularly the greater part of them in the sitting of this morning:

Joubert, Jonanne, Talot, Duplantier, Arena, Garaud, Quirot, Leclerc, Chappers, Briche, Poulain—Grandpre, Bertrand, Goupilleau, Daubermesnil, Marquesi, Guesdon, Grandmaison, Crocassand, Dormond, Frison, Dessaix, Bergasse, Laziroul, Montpellier, Constant, Briot, Destrem, Carrere, Lagarriere, Gorraud, Legot, Blin, Boulay Paty, Sonilhe, Demoor, Rigonet, Mentor, Boissier, Bailly, Bouriier, Prichet, Honore Declerc, Bouffot, Gastin, Laurent, Reitz, Prudhom, Porte, Truck, Delbrez, Leyris, Doche, Dehille, Stevenotte, Lesage Senaul, Chalemele, Andre, Memartelle, Colombel, Phillippe, Morcau, Jourdan, Letourneur, Citadella, Jourdan and Bordas.

2d. The Legislative Body creates, provisionally, an Executive Consular Committee, composed of citizens SIEYES and ROGER DUCOS, Ex-directors, and BUONAPARTE, General. They shall bear the name of "CONSULS OF THE FRENCH REPUBLIC."

3d. This Committee is invested with the full powers of the Directory, and especially commissioned to organize order in all parts of the administration, to re-establish internal tranquillity, and to procure an honourable and solid peace.

4th. It is authorized to send delegates with a power limited according to its own power.

5th. The Legislative Body is adjourned to the 20th of February: it is to meet at that period, in full power, at Paris.

6th. During the adjournment of the Legislative Body the members shall preserve their indemnity and their constitutional security.

7th. They may, without losing their quality as representatives of the people, be employed as ministers, diplomatic agents, delegates of the executive consular committee, and in all other civil functions; they are even invited, in the name of the public good, to accept them.

8th. Before their separation, and during the time of their sitting, each Council shall name, from among their members, a committee of twenty-five members.

9th. The Committees appointed by the Two Councils will, in conjunction with the Committee of the Executive Consulate, determine upon all urgent objects relative to the police, legislation, and finance.

10th. To the Committee of the Council of Five Hundred will belong the right of proposing, and to that of the Council of Elders that of sanctioning them.

11th. The Two Committees will also, in the order above-mentioned, regulate the changes in those parts of the Constitution which experience may have shewn to be inconvenient or vicious.

12th. These changes can have no other object but that of consolidating and guaranteeing inviolably the sovereignty of the people; the republic one and indivisible; the representative system; the division of power; liberty, equality; and the safety of property.

13th. The Executive Consulate Committee may lay before the other Committees their views upon these subjects.

14th. The Two Committees are charged to prepare a civil code.

15th. Their sittings will be held at Paris, in the palace

of the Legislative Body, and they may be convoked extraordinarily, for the ratification of peace, or in case of great public danger.

16th. These Resolutions shall be printed, and sent, by extraordinary couriers, to the departments, and solemnly published and stuck up in all the communes of the Republic."

This Decree was sent to the Council of Ancients, and the Council of Five Hundred composed the following Address from the Legislative Body to the French People :

St. Cloud, 10th November, 1799.

"FRENCHMEN!—The Republic has, once more, been saved from the attacks of the factious. Your faithful Representatives have broken the poniards in the hands of the assassins, who threatened you with destruction: they felt that it was time to terminate for ever such terrible commotions; and, having consulted but their duty and their courage, they are confident to have proved worthy of their constituents.

"Frenchmen! your mutilated liberty, still bleeding from the wounds made by the Revolutionary Government, thought to have found shelter under a constitution which promised at least some rest. The want of repose was generally felt, a deep terror was still impressed on every soul, and the awful crisis was not forgotten. Your military glory might have effaced the most wonderful achievements of antiquity. Struck with admiration, the Europeans were elated with your glory, and made secret vows for the object you aimed at; in short, your enemies sued for peace: everything seemed to co-operate to ensure you, at last, the peaceful enjoyment of liberty and happiness; that happiness and that liberty which alone can ensure it seemed likely to reward such generous endeavours. But seditious men have constantly attacked with boldness the weak side of your Constitution; they have cunningly availed themselves of those articles which might lead to new commotions. The constitutional system has been but a string of revolutions, in

different shapes, of which the several factions have taken advantage : even those who wished the most to abide by the Constitution have been often compelled to enforce its violation to prevent its destruction. From such an unsettled state of government proceeded the still more unsettled state of legislation, and the most sacred rights of social man have been abandoned to the whims of factions and events. It is high time to put a period to such commotions; it is high time to give solid guarantees to the liberty of the citizens, to the sovereignty of the people, to the independence of the constitutional powers; in a word, to the Commonwealth, the name of which has served but too often to authorize the violation of all principles : it is high time that the Great Nation may have a becoming government, a steady and wise government, who may give you a speedy and solid peace, and ensure you a real happiness. Frenchmen ! those are the motives which have occasioned the energetic measures of the legislature. In order to obtain more rapidly the final and complete restoration of every branch of the administration a temporary government is instituted : they are invested with a sufficient power to enforce the respect of the laws, to protect the peaceful citizens, and to repress all the conspirators and wicked men. Royalty shall no longer rear its head : the frightful remains of the revolutionary government shall disappear ; republic and liberty shall cease to be phantoms : a new age shall begin. Frenchmen ! stand by your magistrates : nothing can diminish the zeal of those who have had the courage to conceive such flattering and sublime hopes for your welfare : the success now depends on your confidence, on your union, and on your wisdom. Soldiers of liberty ! you will be deaf to every perfidious insinuation ; you will pursue your victorious career ; you will conquer peace, in order to come back among your brothers, to enjoy all the blessings you have ensured them, and to receive from the national gratitude the honours and the rewards worthy of your glorious deeds.

“ Long live the Republic ! ”

Buonaparté, in the interim, was busied in preparing a Proclamation, with the assistance of his secretary, Bourienne, and it was issued at eleven o'clock at night, on the 19th Brumaire, (10th November, 1799) in the following form :

PROCLAMATION

Of the Commander in Chief, BUONAPARTE.

“ On my return to Paris I found discord reigning among all the Constituted Authorities, and that they agreed only respecting one truth, viz. ‘ That the constitution was half destroyed, and was unable to save the cause of Liberty.’ All parties came to me, entrusted me with their designs, disclosed to me their secrets, and solicited my support. I refused to lend myself to any party. The Council of Elders called me before them. I obeyed the call. A plan of general restoration had been concerted by men in whom the nation is accustomed to behold the defenders of liberty, of equality, of property. This plan required a calm and free investigation, unbialed by any influence or by any fears. Agreeably to this idea, the Council of Elders resolved upon transferring the Legislative Body to St. Cloud: they charged me with the military force necessary to protect their independence. I deemed it a duty I owed to my fellow citizens, the soldiers, who are perishing in our armies, and the national glory, acquired by their blood, to accept that command. The Councils assembled at St. Cloud; the Republican troops watch over their external security; but assassins make terror prevail in the interior. Several Deputies of the Council of Five Hundred, armed with stilettos and pistols, circulated all around them the threats and terrors of death. The plans that were to be developed are limited; the majority disorganized, the most intrepid speakers disconcerted, and the proposal and agitation of any wise measure became utterly useless., I communicated my indignation and my sorrow to the Council of Elders; I requested to be allowed to secure the execution of their generous designs; I represented to them the calamities of the

country by which they had been suggested ; they joined me in new testimonies of their constant determination. I appeared in the Council of Five Hundred alone, without arms, my head uncovered, such as the Elders had received and applauded me. I went to remind the majority of the intentions by which they were animated, and to assure them that they might rely on their power. The stilettos, by which the Deputies were menaced, were immediately raised against him who wished to be their deliverer. Twenty assassins darted upon me and aimed at my breast ; the grenadiers of the Legislative Body, whom I had left at the door of the hall, ran up and threw themselves between the assassins and me ; one of these brave grenadiers, named Thome, received a blow of a stiletto, which pierced his cloaths—they carried me off. At the same moment, the cries of “*Declare him an outlaw!*” were heard against the man who wished to defend the law. It was the frantic cry of the assassin against the force destined to rob him of his prey.—They thronged round the President with threats in their mouths, and arms in their hands ; they ordered him to put the question of outlawry. I was informed of this, and gave orders to rescue him from their fury, and accordingly six grenadiers brought him out. Immediately after, some grenadiers of the Legislative Body entered, at the *pas de charge*, into the hall, and cleared it. The factious leaders, being thus intimidated, dispersed and went away. The majority, rescued from their attempts, freely and peaceably returned to the hall of their sittings, and heard the propositions which were to be made for the public safety, deliberated upon them, and prepared the salutary resolution, which is to become the new and provisional law of the Republic.—Frenchmen ! you will doubtless recognize in this conduct the zeal of a soldier of Liberty, and of a citizen devoted to the Republic. Views directed to conservation, to protection, to liberal purposes, will resume their influence by the dispersion of incendiaries

who oppressed the Council ; and who, though they rendered themselves the most odious, never ceased to be the most contemptible of mankind.

(Signed)

“ BONAPARTE.”

“ ALEX. BERTHIER.”

Whilst the Council of Five Hundred was engaged in composing its Address to the People, and Buonaparté was busied in promulgating his Proclamation, the Council of Ancients were employed in discussing the decree sent to them from the Council of Five Hundred : at one o'clock in the morning the Council of Ancients announced their approbation of it ; and the Three Consuls went to the Council of Five Hundred, where the President, Lucien Buonaparte, spoke to them thus :

“ CITIZENS !

“ The greatest people upon earth entrust you with their destinies ; within three months the public opinion shall judge you. Domestic happiness, general liberty, the distresses of the armies, and *peace*, all these are entrusted to you. You must have courage and zeal to accept such an important trust and such high functions ; but you are supported by the confidence of the nation and of the armies ; and, besides, it is well known to the Legislature that your souls are entirely devoted to the welfare of the people.”

The Consuls then took the oath to preserve liberty and equality, and returned to Paris about four in the morning of the 11th of November, and entered upon their functions immediately. The seal of the Republic was changed, and the newspapers were stopped at the post-office, and new ones printed, to inform the departments of all that had been transacted. In the evening of the 12th the following Address from the Consuls was read thro' Paris, by torch-light :

THE CONSULS TO THE FRENCH PEOPLE.

“ Paris, 21st Brumaire, (12th November) 8th Year of the French Republic, one and indivisible.

“ The Constitution of the Third Year was perishing : it could neither ensure your right nor its own safety. Re-

peated violations deprived it for ever of the respect of the people; several odious and rapacious factions desolated the Republic. France was, at last, on the very brink of a total ruin.

“The patriots have agreed upon a plan. Those men who might have been dangerous to you have been discarded; those who may be useful to you, and those who behaved well in the national representation, have never abandoned the banners of liberty.

Frenchmen! the Republic being better settled in that rank of Europe, which she should never have lost, will see the hopes of her citizens accomplished and her glorious destinies fulfilled.

Take with us *the oath of allegiance to the Republic, one and indivisible, grounded on EQUALITY, on LIBERTY, and on the REPRESENTATIVE SYSTEM.*

(Signed)

“ROGER DUCOS,

“BONAPARTE,

“SIEYES.”

(“A true copy.) Signed *Hugues Bernard Maret*,
Secretary General.”

This change in the government was agreeable to the people, because the Directory, whom they hated for their corruption and despised for their weakness, was removed. It was clamoured against by the Jacobins, because they saw that their strength was departing from them and that their own designs were frustrated; but their murmurs were as effectually suppressed as their efforts, by the arrest of their leaders: they had not even the means of turning the attention of the people to the fallen Directors; although, if they had once more emerged into notice, it would have exposed them to ridicule and danger. Sieyes and Ducos were in the new Executive; and least of all did the other Ex-directors court popular observation.

Barras, had amassed a princely fortune, and consoled himself with the enjoyments which his riches offered to his voluptuousness. Gohier, the late President of the Directory, had lost, with the costume of his office, all the consequence which he derived from its distinctive character. Moulins was so much the creature of fear, that, having fled from his post in the hour of danger, he trembled lest the new Consuls should seek to punish him, for the very act of weakness which assisted in lifting them into office. The Directory, then, had sunk, never to rise again, either into power as magistrates or esteem as men.

The Revolution of the EIGHTEENTH AND NINETEENTH BRUMAIRE was a revolution of force without bloodshed, which raised a military government upon the ruins of those other revolutions, that had, alternately, originated in opinion and in terror, and that had failed in securing the happiness and liberty of the people, because the good men thought many were not energetic, and because the vile and the vicious succeeded in duping the honesty of the nation and destroying its virtue. This Revolution, which effected so much, is remarkable for having been accomplished without bloodshed or sanguinary punishment. The bayonet was shown, and was as much respected as a more legitimate argument would have been; that it was not used was, because no resistance could be opposed to it by men in whom the people had no confidence. Buonaparté and the army were the founders of the new government, and military pomp and etiquette were united with its magisterial functions.

END OF VOL. III.

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